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VOLUME II
LITERARY AND LINGUISTIC SERIES

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1911

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CONTENTS

The Cyclic Relations of the Chanson de Willame, by THEODORE
ELY HAMILTON, *Assistant Professor of Romance Languages
in Ohio State University. Formerly Instructor in Romance
Languages in the University of Missouri.*

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THE CYCLIC RELATIONS OF THE
CHANSON DE WILLAME

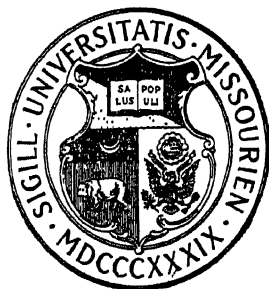
VOLUME II LITERARY AND LINGUISTIC SERIES COMPLETE

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI STUDIES

EDITED BY
W. G. BROWN
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THE CYCLIC RELATIONS OF THE CHANSON DE WILLAME

BY
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*Assistant Professor of Romance Languages in Ohio State
University. Formerly Instructor in Romance
Languages in the University
of Missouri*



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PREFACE

This study is, in the main, the thesis submitted, in 1908, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Missouri, with a few additions and slight changes since then.

Its object is to examine the *Chanson de Willame* and various related sources and to compare the latter, both with one another and with the *Willame*. These comparisons will include many minor points of resemblance and difference, but the special aim will be to derive from such comparisons more general conclusions in regard to the cyclic relations of the chansons. The plan which will be followed is to give for each source, first, a résumé and, second, critical notes upon the same. The résumés, though calculated to give good general views of the sources treated, are intended particularly to bring out points of special interest for discussion and cyclic comparison. Finally, there will be, at the close of the paper, a more general argument in regard to the probable origins of the legends and the development and cyclic relations of the sources studied. The sources which especially receive attention in this paper are, in addition to the *Chanson de Willame*: *Foucon de Candie*, *Le Storie Nerbonesi*, *Aliscans*, *Les Enfances Vivien*, and *La Chevalerie Vivien*.¹ They are taken up in the order indicated.

I especially desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Raymond Weeks for the use of valuable and interesting selections from different manuscripts and for many suggestions and guidance in the preparation of this study.

¹ The name *La Chevalerie Vivien* is used in place of *Le Covenant Vivien* as being perhaps older and more authoritative.

PRINCIPAL TEXTS USED

- La Chansun de Willame. Chiswick Press, June, 1903.
- Le Roman de Foulque de Candie par Herbert LEIDUC, de Dammartin Publiés par Prosper Tarbé. Reims, 1860.
- Le Storie Nerbonesi Pubblicato per cura di I. G. Isola. Bologna, 1877.
- Aliscans Chanson de Geste Publiée par MM. F. Guessard et A. De Montaiglon. Paris, 1870.
- Les Enfances Vivien Publiée par Carl Wahlund and Hugo von Feilitzen. Upsala-Paris, 1895.
- Chevalerie Vivien Facsimile phototypes with an introduction and notes by Raymond Weeks, Ph. D. Published by the University of Missouri, 1909.
- Guillaume D' Orange Chansons de Geste Publiées par M. W. J. A. Jonckbloet. LaHaye, 1854.
- The above were supplemented by selections from various manuscripts of Foucon.

CONTENTS

PREFACE	v
LA CHANSON DE WILLAME	1
INTRODUCTION	3
ELEMENTS OF THE CHANSON	4
RÉSUMÉ OF ELEMENT A	5
NOTES ON ELEMENT A	8
RÉSUMÉ OF ELEMENT B	12
NOTES ON ELEMENT B	14
RÉSUMÉ OF ELEMENT C	24
NOTES ON ELEMENT C	29
RÉSUMÉ OF ELEMENT R	41
NOTES ON ELEMENT R	46
OTHER SOURCES CONNECTED WITH THE WILLAME	50
FOUCON DE CANDIE	51
INTRODUCTION	53
RÉSUMÉ	55
NOTES	71
LE STORIE NERBONESI	91
INTRODUCTION	93
RÉSUMÉ	95
LIBRO PRIMO	95
LIBRO SECONDO	96
LIBRO TERZO	97
LIBRO QUARTO	97
LIBRO QUINTO	103
APPENDIX	107
LIBRO SESTO	109
THE RENOART	117
NOTES	122
LIBRO PRIMO	122
LIBRO SECONDO	122
LIBRO TERZO	122
LIBRO QUARTO	123
LIBRO QUINTO	128
APPENDIX	131
LIBRO SESTO	133
THE RENOART	140

LA CHANSON D' ALISCANS	143
INTRODUCTION	145
RÉSUMÉ	148
NOTES	171
NOTES ON THE RENOART PORTION OF ALISCANS	183
LES ENFANCES VIVIEN	195
INTRODUCTION	197
RÉSUMÉ	200
NOTES	216
NOTES ON THE RENOART PORTION OF THE ENFANCES	
VIVIEN	227
LA CHEVALERIE VIVIEN	230
INTRODUCTION	231
RÉSUMÉ	233
NOTES	241
GENERAL DISCUSSION	251
INTRODUCTION	253
ORIGINS OF THE LEGENDS	254
GUILLAUME D' ORANGE	254
VIVIEN	257
THE GESTES OF GUILLAUME AND OF VIVIEN	259
DEVELOPMENT AND CYCLIC RELATIONS	264
THE CHANSON DE WILLAME	264
ELEMENT A	264
ELEMENT B	270
ELEMENT C	271
ELEMENT R	272
FOUCON DE CANDIE	274
LE STORIE NERBONESI	279
VIVIEN'S CAMPAIGN IN GALICIA	279
THE RAISING OF THE SIEGE OF ORANGE	282
THE CONQUEST OF ARAGON	283
BATTLE NEAR TORTOSA	284
STORY OF THE RENOART	289
ALISCANS	290
LES ENFANCES VIVIEN	296
LA CHEVALERIE VIVIEN	298

LA CHANSON DE WILLAME

LA CHANSON DE WILLAME

INTRODUCTION

The manuscript of the *Chanson de Willame*, the most valuable recent acquisition to Old French literature, lay for many centuries in private libraries in England, absolutely unknown to scholars. It was purchased in May, 1901, from the library of the late Sir Henry Hope Edwards, by a gentleman of wealth and culture residing not far from London and is still in his possession. For reasons of privacy he has not made known his name. In June, 1903, however, he issued from the Chiswick Press an attractive printed edition of two hundred copies of the poem. The manuscript has been catalogued in Slater's Book-prices Current as a "Ms. of the 13th cent., on vellum." The first public notice and analysis of this poem was made by M. Paul Meyer.¹ Since then a valuable series of articles on this subject have been contributed by Professor Raymond Weeks.²

Not since the discovery, in 1775, of the Oxford manuscript of the *Chanson de Roland*, has so startling and unexpected a find been made in the realm of the Old French epic. It has reopened the whole field of the Cycle of Guillaume to the critics and scholars of the world. It furnishes the most primitive version extant of the justly famous chanson of *Aliscans*, which is the center of the entire cycle.

The *Chanson de Willame* is written in Anglo-Norman, and contains three thousand five hundred and fifty-three generally decasyllabic lines, in assonance. The manuscript seems to be complete. It probably received its present form about the middle

¹ *Romania*, XXXII. 597-618.

² *Modern Philology*, II. No. 1, June, 1904; II. No. 2, Oct., 1904, and III. No. 2, Oct., 1905; *The Library*, April, 1905; *Romania*, XXXIV. 240 ss.

of the thirteenth century. The redaction of the first and older part is probably from the eleventh century, that of the remainder from the first part of the twelfth. The versification and language, especially of the first portion, are irregular and suggest an ignorant or careless copyist. Though the style is often rough and the text frequently vitiated, it possesses a simple dignity and reserve force, which are very effective. Nearly everywhere one sees evidence of its primitiveness. A peculiar feature is the short refrain, which generally reads, "Lunsdi al uespre." This refrain closes many of the laisses in that portion of the poem preceding the entrance of Guillaume (or Willame) into Orange, but occurs very rarely thereafter. It is most frequent in the first thirteen hundred lines. The presence of the short refrain is probably a sign of the great age of the chanson.

Elements of the Chanson

The *Chanson de Willame* is composite. Probably four, and possibly six elements have entered into its composition. The first three are different versions of a common original and evidently stand in the poem in chronological order. The fourth element was in all probability originally an independent poem.

For convenience of reference these four elements will be designated by the letters A, B, C, and R respectively.

The first element (A) includes the lines from the beginning to about line 1228.

The second element (B) from about line 1228 to line 1980.

The third element (C) from about line 1980 to line 2647.

And the fourth element (R) begins with line 2647 and continues to the end of the chanson.

In a six element division of the chanson the first element would consist of what concerns Tedbald and Estormi, at the beginning of the poem, and the sixth element would be the account of the boyhood of Renoart, at the close.

Résumé of A. First Element of the Chanson (lines 1-1228).

King Deramé of Cordes has advanced with a great Saracen army, to make war upon the forces of France. A smaller Christian army goes from Bourges, under Tedbald of Berri, to meet him. The two armies meet in the Archamp. Upon sight of the vast forces of the enemy, Tedbald and his nephew, Estormi, flee ignominiously. Girart, a young bachelor, pursues Tedbald, knocks him from the saddle, and steals his fine armor and horse. The great shield had previously been captured by the young hero Vivien, when he killed the redoubtable Saracen, Alderufe, in the fields of Gironde. Vivien had given it to his uncle, Guillaume, by whom it had been given to Tedbald.

Meanwhile the deserted troops are encouraged by Vivien, who tells them that he has made a vow to God never to retreat before the enemy. They remind him that he is of an illustrious family, that his father was Boeve, his mother was a daughter of count Aimeri, and his uncle is the marquis Guillaume, he of the aquiline nose. Vivien is chosen commander of the Christian army.

With the utmost valor, Vivien and his knights engage the enemy and kill great numbers, while contending against overwhelming odds. Vivien several times repeats his vow. He hopes for the arrival of Guillaume, who evidently cannot be far distant. With primitive simplicity of language and rapidity of movement is described the heroism and the immolation of the French.

Not till his force has been reduced to ten men does Vivien send for aid. He chooses as the messenger his cousin Girart, who is to remind Guillaume of the services he has received from Vivien in the past, how Vivien slew Alderufe at Saragossa, and killed the far greater Saracen leader Tibaut at Orange. Girart shall ask Vivien's little brother, Gui, to come to aid him in this foreign country, he shall greet Guiborc, the wife of Guillaume,

who had cared for Vivien more than fifteen years; and shall request Guillaume to come at once with an army to his rescue.

Girart fights his way through the Saracens and hastens along the seashore. After his horse gives out, he continues on foot. He has not eaten for three days and suffers greatly from hunger, thirst, and fatigue. Oppressed by the great heat he throws away his armor.

Meanwhile all of Vivien's men are slain and he fights on alone. He prays that he may keep his vow and that Guillaume may be sent to his assistance. His last, desperate struggles are described with pathos. Terribly wounded and overwhelmed by the enemy, he falls and is cut to pieces, on the bank of a little brook near the sea. His body is carried away, in order that it may not be found by the Christians, and is placed under a tree beside a path.

Girart has now reached Barcelona. He tells his message to Guiborc and Guillaume, who has just returned from a great battle at Bordeaux. When food is provided him, Girart eats so voraciously that Guiborc remarks that he must be of the family of Guillaume.

Next day Girart is knighted. The army leaves on the following evening. Guiborc has especially recommended Guischard, her own nephew, who has recently been made a knight, to Guillaume, for this expedition.

In one night's travel the army reaches the Archamp by the sea. Deramé has won the battle but, on account of a calm, has been unable to sail away. Guillaume attacks the Saracens with fury. All day Monday and into Thursday the battle near the seashore rages. The army of Guillaume is entirely destroyed.

Des homes Willame ne remist un vif (1125)

Girart and Guischard die on the shore of a turbid brook. Guischard refers to Cordes as his birth place. In his dying moments he renounces the God of the Christians and reverts to

paganism. He is killed while Guillaume is attempting to carry him from the field. Guillaume returns, bringing the body of Guischard, as he had promised to Guiborc.

Notes on Element A of the Willame

Special indications of the greater age of the first element of the *Chanson de Willame* are the greater number of short laisses and the greater frequency of the short refrain which closes the laisses.

The historic original of Deramé (Desramé), who plays so large a rôle in the cycle of Guillaume, was undoubtedly one or more of the Moorish princes named Abd-er-Rahmân. Historically several of them were connected with places or events mentioned in the epics. An Abd-er-Rahmân was elected governor of Spain by the Arab generals at the siege of Toulouse, in 721. Later he again invaded and devastated southwestern France and captured Bordeaux. He commanded the Saracen army at the battle of Poitiers, won by Charles Martel, in 732 and lost his life in that important conflict. The appellation "roi de Cordes," so often used with the name Deramé, would apply to any of the Abd-er-Rahmân dynasty, for all were rulers at Cordova. The caliphate of Cordova was established in 756 by Abd-er-Rahmân I, surnamed the Wise, who alone had escaped the murder of ninety Numiad princes at Bagdad. He designed and built the magnificent mosque of Cordova. He died in 787. Hescham I, his successor, is supposed to have been in command of the Saracen forces at the battle near the Orbieu, in 793, where the Frankish army was commanded by Guillaume de Toulouse. It is said that some of the Franks captured during this campaign were compelled to transport building stone from Narbonne to Cordova. Abd-er-Rahmân III, eighth caliph of Cordova, reigned from 912 till his death in 961. He was engaged in almost incessant warfare. The close of his reign was the most brilliant epoch of Moorish civilization and dominion in Spain. Under the Abd-er-Rahmân dynasty Cordova became the center of science and arts, the metropolis of Moorish Spain, and the

Mecca of the West. The caliphate of Cordova lasted until 1031. Since the Moors were banished from Cordova by Ferdinand, in 1236, it has greatly declined from its former splendor.

In lines 295-299 occurs probably the earliest statement extant of the parentage of Vivien. He is here said to be a son of Boeve and of a sister of Guillaume. That Guillaume's sister was the mother of Vivien is found in certain other sources, but nowhere, except in the *Willame*, is Vivien's father said to be Boeve. The fact is, of course, implied that, at the time of the *Willame A*, Boeve had not yet become an own brother of Guillaume. Moreover, the language of line 297 "Ja fustes fiz Boeue" indicates that at this time Boeve is dead.

Vivien's statement (line 641) that he had slain the twelve sons of Bereal (Borel) seems to connect him with the lost poem which was the source of the *Fragment de la Haye* (tenth century). If this is true, it shows clearly the great age of the legend of Vivien.

The death of Tibaut by the hand of Vivien at Orange, as related to Girart by Vivien, in line 615, is not referred to in any other source. In the other chansons, Tibaut is either absent from the real action or else he is living, a perpetual menace to France and particularly to Guillaume. It is well known that there was a strong tendency in the later epics to spare the greater heroes, both friends and foes, so that they might always be available for epic narration. Therefore, the fact that one of the two greatest Saracen leaders (the other being Deramé) who appear in the cycle of Guillaume should be sacrificed thus early is one of the clearest indications of the very primitive character of the *Willame A*. It is also very noteworthy that Tibaut takes no part whatever in the *Chanson de Willame*, but is merely mentioned as having been killed before the action of this poem begins. Now, it does not seem probable that the author of *A* would have so represented the case, if he had felt that he had a free hand. He probably knew of some poem,

very likely well known in that day, in which Tibaut was an active figure and was killed. Therefore he felt constrained to leave him out of the action of the *Willame* and merely to refer to his death. It will be noticed that Vivien is said to have slain Tibaut at Orange.³ This seems to refer to what is commonly known as the Long Siege of Orange, mentioned in various epics, and which is said to have lasted for seven years. In that siege Guillaume, who has captured Orange and married Tibaut's former wife, Orable, is besieged by Tibaut and reduced to the greatest extremities. Evidently the primitive tradition was that Tibaut was killed at that siege. The events of the siege are supposed to have been related in the lost poem, *Le Siège d'Orange*. It seems probable that the author of the *Willame* A knew this poem, *Le Siège*, and that it was there that he read of Tibaut's death. It is a necessary consequence of this supposition that the chanson *Le Siège d'Orange* antedated A of the *Willame*. This poem of *Le Siège* would then have been one of the most primitive chansons of the *geste de Guillaume*.

Line 684 gives the earliest statement about Vivien's foster mother. Here Guiborc, the wife of Guillaume, is said to have cared for Vivien for more than fifteen years. As Vivien is represented in the *Willame* as a very young man, he must have been taken by Guiborc in his early boyhood. The fact that Vivien nowhere refers to his mother and that she nowhere enters into the action of any of the earlier chansons⁴ may be taken as an indication that she was at first conceived of as having died while Vivien was very young. The additional fact that her name is nowhere mentioned, except in the *Enfances*, leads to the conclusion that the idea that Vivien's mother was a sister of Guil-

³ In the *Nerbonesi*, I. 514-516, Tibaut raises the siege of Orange because severely wounded by Vivien.

⁴ The teaching of the *Enfances Vivien*, which gives, as Vivien's mother, Ustase, daughter of Duke Naimés, is comparatively late. It is probably an invention of the author of the *Enfances*.

laume is not primitive. No one can read the earliest poems relating to Vivien without being struck by the fact that Vivien's own mother is a very shadowy and unreal personage. It may be that the original Vivien was merely a warrior of unknown parentage and not at all related to Guillaume. When it was thought best to introduce Vivien, or possibly the separate cycle of Vivien, into the cycle of Guillaume, Vivien was made Guillaume's nephew in the easiest and least noticeable manner by making him the son of an unnamed sister.

Various portions of A, as well as of the other elements, seem exceedingly abridged; for example, the account of the battle waged by Guillaume in the Archamp. Probably much has been lost by repeated copying or through the insufficient memory of some jongleur or poet who may have written or dictated the lines.

The accounts of the death of Girart and Guischart are strikingly similar. As both die on the shore of a little turbid brook, it may be inferred that it is the same one by which Vivien succumbed. This idea is strengthened by repeated statements of the scarcity of fresh water there. Evidently the streams were few and small.

Element A ends with the return of Guillaume, bringing the body of Guischart, and with the repeated statement that Guillaume does not flee. This seems like an effort on the part of the poet to end his *chanson* with lines creditable to the hero.

Résumé of B. Second Element of the Chanson (lines 1228-1980).

Guiborc has assembled a fresh army of thirty thousand men. While she is entertaining the leaders at dinner in the palace, she sees Guillaume approaching, with a dead man thrown over the saddle. It is Guischard, her nephew. Guillaume arrives completely discouraged. By his permission, Guiborc deceives the assembled knights and tells them that Guillaume has won the battle and killed Deramé, but has lost Vivien and the army.

Guillaume now seats himself to eat "a une basse table" (line 1401), because he is too dejected to go to the upper table. Gui, a lad of fifteen, brother of Vivien and son of Boeve, presents himself as the future defender of Guiborc, and Guillaume's natural heir. And after some opposition on the part of Guillaume, Gui is accepted as such.

That evening Guillaume leaves "la bone cite" and rides away with the army of thirty thousand men to the Archamp. Little Gui induces Guiborc to allow him to follow the army, on Guiborc's horse Balcan, by saying:

Se io ni vois en larcham sur mer
Ia ne verras Willame od le curb nies (1537)
& si io vois voldrai len amener

Gui reaches the Archamp in the morning. After a display of horsemanship by Gui, his uncle receives him into the army. Guillaume says that Gui should be a knight, for his father was one before him. Side by side, they ride toward the enemy.

Deramé has won the battle and collected the booty, but, for lack of a favorable wind, has not been able to sail away. Guillaume finds the Saracens having a meal on land. He attacks them, whereupon they retire to their ships and "la halte eve de mer" (line 1700), and arm themselves. Then they return to give battle "A terre certaine" (line 1703).

In the conflict which follows, five nephews of Guillaume are captured: Betran, Guielin, Guischard, Galter de Termes, and Reiner. These nephews are led away before Guillaume's eyes and are confined in a Saracen ship. All of the remaining French are killed or captured, with the exception of Guillaume and Gui, who fight on alone. Gui, who is suffering greatly from hunger and thirst, goes to the lunching ground where they had found "lunsdi les sarazins" (line 1770), and refreshes himself.

Meanwhile Guillaume is surrounded by a whirlwind of Saracens. His horse, Liard, is killed under him. His shield is filled so heavily with lances and darts that he can no longer sustain it. He himself is hurled down upon the gravel and is in imminent peril. Fortunately Gui hears his call and attacks the enemy with incredible fury. He cleaves both a horse and its rider with a single blow of the sword.

De cel colp sunt paien esmalez
Dist li vns al altre co est fuildre que cheit (1852)
Reuescuz est Viuiien le guerreier

The Saracens flee to their ships and Guillaume is saved.

Co fu grant miracle que nostre Sire fist (1857)
Pur un sul home enfurent uint mil

Gui gives to his uncle Guiborc's horse, Balcan, and together they roam over the field. Suddenly they find king Deramé lying on the bloody sand. Seeing them approach, however, he mounts his horse and advances toward them. Guillaume strikes him on the helmet. The sword glances and severs his thigh (line 1924). Guillaume seizes Deramé's horse, also named Balcan (line 1932), and gives it to Gui. Deramé, dying upon the ground, laments in pitiful language this fine horse. But Gui puts an end to his suffering by decapitation (line 1962). Guillaume at first reproves him for this but later commends his sense and repeats the promise that he shall be his heir.

Lores fu meeresdi
Ore out vencu sa bataille Willame (1979)

Notes on Element B of the Willame.

Element B is in general a repetition of that portion of A from the arrival of Girart at Barcelona to the defeat of Guillaume in the Archamp. There is a very suspicious similarity of events and frequently even verbatim repetitions. On the other hand there are in A and B such striking contradictions as to preclude the two elements being homogeneous. In every way A appears older than B. Therefore I consider that portion of the *Chanson de Willame* which is designated B as a later element than A.

The repetitions referred to begin with line 1228 and it is for this reason that this line is designated as the beginning of element B. Here it is learned that during Guillaume's absence, which is represented as of only a very few day's duration, Guiborc has raised a fresh army of thirty thousand men. This in itself is suspicious, as well as the statement that this army is of exactly the same size (thirty thousand) as that with which Guillaume had departed before.⁵

The similarity between A and B is nowhere more apparent than in the scenes at the palace after the arrival of Girart and that of Guillaume respectively. In fact the two accounts are almost identical. Certain points in the account in B will be first discussed and then the account in B will be compared with that in A.

When Guillaume seats himself at dinner "a une basse table" (line 1401), because he is too dejected to go to the upper table, it seems to be in the principal dining hall, which we have just heard was filled with knights.⁶ Yet we must suppose that they

⁵ Cf. lines 1084 and 1232.

⁶ The opinion that the main dining hall is meant is further strengthened by an almost identical scene in C, where this hall is unmistakably indicated.

have left the room before Guillaume enters; for after Guiborc's declaration to them that Guillaume has returned victorious, we can hardly conceive of his seating himself in this downcast manner at a side table, if they are still present. Such a course would surely reveal the deception by Guiborc and defeat the very end—that of encouraging the knights—for which both Guiborc and Guillaume are striving. No mention whatever is made of Guillaume's meeting them. There is no alternative but to suppose that the knights have departed.⁷

There is, by the way, a certain element of unreality about this army. The mere fact that Guiborc has assembled so large a force in Guillaume's absence (which she does nowhere else) seems improbable. This great force is seated at the banquet tables in the palace. They see Guillaume coming, evidently from a terrible battle, and with a dead man slung over the saddle bow. Yet they are deceived as to the true state of affairs with the greatest ease, by Guiborc, and suddenly vanish like shadows. The whole idea of the presence of this army seems to have been introduced at a period posterior to A, in order, for various reasons which will be noticed later, to make possible a third battle in the Archamp, which will be followed by a renewal of this battle in C and a fourth in R upon the same field. This multiplication of battles in the Archamp is not true to the commonly accepted order of events and is manifestly a mere repetition in different versions. The correct order is more probably as follows: the defeat of Vivien, followed by one defeat of Guillaume, and lastly Guillaume's decisive victory—three separate battles instead of four.

The scene of Guillaume eating at the low table is a scene of intimate family life, almost exactly like the corresponding episode with Girart. But the Girart scene was entirely natu-

⁷ Line 1492 says of Guiborc, after Guillaume has retired: "*Dunc vault en la sale as cheualers parler,*" but this may refer to another than the dining hall.

ral, for only Girart, Guillaume and Guiborc were mentioned as being present. The scene with Guillaume is unnatural, because of the evident sudden vanishing of the great army of knights. In the same way as with Girart, Guiborc jokes about the greediness with which Guillaume consumes vast quantities of food and drink, and says a man who eats like that would wage hard war upon his neighbor. The language of the two episodes is nearly identical.⁸ The conclusion cannot be escaped from that the one

⁸ Compare the following passages. Each line has been divided, in order to accommodate the two columns upon the page.

Guiborc meismes
servi Girard de leve
& en apres
le servit de tuaille
Puis lad assis
a une halte table

Si lui aportat
dun sengler un espalle
Li quons la prist
si la mangat a haste (1045)

Ele li aportat
un grant pain atamis

& dunc en apres
sun grant mazelin de vin

Guiborc meisme
sert sun seigneur de leve (1400)

Puis lad assis
a une basse table
Ne pout aler pur
doel a la plus halte
Puis li aportat
dun sengler un espalle
Li bers la prist
si la mangat en haste
Il la fist tant
cum ele fust mult ate (1405)

Ele li aportad
un grant pain atamis
& desur cel
dous granz gastels rostiz
Si li aportad
un grant poun rostl
Puis li aportad
un grant mazelin de vin
Od ses dous braz
i out assez a sustenir (1410)
Mangat Willame
le pain atamis
& en apres
les dous gasteals rostiz

is copied from the other. Now as the Girart scene is given both with greater simplicity and greater naturalness, it is only reasonable to consider it the original from which the Guillaume scene was copied.

Again the account of Guillaume's retiring, awakening, being armed, and starting for the Archamp the following evening is practically identical with the account of Girart.⁹ Almost the same language is used also in the arming of Tedbald (lines 132-146).

Girard mangat
le grant braun porcin
& a dous traiz
ad uoide le mazelin

Que vnques a Guiburc
mie nen offrit (1050)
Ne ne radrescat
la chere ne sun vis
Veist le Guiburc
a Willame lad dit

She says of one who eats in this manner:

Ben dure guere
deit rendre a sun veisin
Ne ia uilment
ne de champ fuir

Trestuit mangat
le grant braun porcin
& a dous traiz
but un sester de vin
& tut mangad
les dous gasteals rostiz
& si que a Guiburc
une mie nen offrid
Ne redrescad
la chere ne le vis
Veist le Guiburc
crollad sun chef si rist

Ben dure guere
deit rendre a sun veisin
Ia trop vilment
ne deit de champ fuir (1430)

⁹ Compare the following lines:

Prest fu li liz
si firent dormir Girard
Girard se dresce
& leuad del manger
Prest fu li liz
si sest ale colcher (1065)
Guiburc la franche
le serui uolenters

Li quons Willame
est del manger leue
Prest fu li liz
si est culcher ale
Guiburc la franche
Il tastunad suef (1485)

.....

As in the other passages, so here the Girart account is shorter and more natural. Moreover the forms of the words are frequently more antique. It should be particularly noted that as Girart is knighted in the evening, the account of his being armed at that time is to be expected, whereas there is less occasion for the elaborate arming of Guillaume here, since he had been knighted by Charlemagne years before.*

The large rôle played by the boy Gui and especially his seeming power over events may suggest something almost occult in this diminutive character. Guiborc, who was herself so skilled

Tant fud ad lui
quil endormi fu
Puis le comande
al cors altisme Deu

*Compare the following lines:

Tant dormi Girard
quil fu a uespre
Puis salt del lit
cume francs naturel (1070)
Munioie escrie
cheualers car muntez
Armes demande
& lem li uait apoter
I dunc aprimes
fu Girard adube
Dunc li uestrent
une broigne mult bele
& vn uert healme
li lacent en la teste (1075)
Willame li ceinst
lespee al coste senestre
Vne grant targe
prist par la manuele

Cheval out bon
des meillurs de la terre

Tant fu ad lui
quil sendormi suet (1490)
Puis comandad
sun cors al altisme Dev

Dunc vait en la sale
as cheualers parler
Tant dort Willame
quil fu auespre
Puis salt del lit
cum hardi sengler
Criad Munioie
frans cheualers muntez (1495)
Armes demande
& lem li vait apoter

Dunc li uestrent
une broine mult bele
& un vert healme
li lacent en la teste
Sa espee out ceinte
le brant burni uers terre
Vne grant targe
I tint par maneuele (1500)
Espe trenchante out
en sun poig destre
Puis li baisad le pie
sil enclinad uers terre

in herbs and cunning arts as to have acquired a reputation akin to that of an enchantress, consents at once to Gui's desire to follow Guillaume to battle, as soon as she hears his prophecy. We quote the lines:

Se io ni uois en larcham sur mer
Ia ne uerras Willame od le curb nies (1537)
& si io uois uoldrai len amener

The speech quoted is certainly very remarkable, especially as emanating from a boy, and seems to credit Gui with a foresight into the future. Upon Gui's arrival on the battlefield, Guillaume asks him to ride beside him, saying: "Si io tai ne crem malveis enguun" (line 1673). Why was such confidence to be felt in so small a companion in arms, unless he possessed some supernatural power? Yet this confidence seems well placed, for he later rescues his uncle from certain death and by so doing confirms his prophecy. Moreover:

Co fu grant miracle que nostre Sire fist (1857)
Pur un sul home enfuirent uint mil

And we recall the statement of line 1678: "Si ni alast Gui ne reuenist Willame." The circumstances connected with the rout of the Saracens by Gui are in themselves highly improbable, for

Puis muntad Girard
par sun estriu senestre
Dame Guibure
li vait tenir la destre (1080)
Sil comande a Dev
le grant Paterne
Quant il auesprad
a la bone cite
Issu sen est
Willame al curbnies
Od trente mile
de cheualers armez
En larchamp requistrent
le paen Derame (1085)

Sil comandad
al glorius Rei celestre.
Quant il auesprad
en la bone cite
Issuz sen est
Willame al curbnies (1505)
Od. xxx. mille
de cheualers armez
En larchamp requistrent
le paen Derame

example his cutting with the sword completely through a Saracen and his horse (lines 1842-1850). So startling is the blow that:

De cel colp sunt paien esmalez (1851)
 Dist li vns al altre co est fuildre que cheit
 Reuescuz est Viulen le guerreier

A confirmation of the idea contained in B that Guillaume started from Barcelona may be found in the fact that Gui, who starts from the same city, seems to reach the Archamp in one night's ride (lines 1561-1563).

Several passages in B, beginning with line 1679, are almost identical with those beginning with line 1089 in A. In both cases it states that when Guillaume arrived in the Archamp "La bataille out uencue Derame" (lines 1089 and 1679) and "Si out pris leschec & le morz des armez" (lines 1090 and 1681), but that the Saracens could not sail away because of a calm.

For better comparison, a few lines from A and B in regard to Guillaume's meeting with the Saracens are given side by side:

Tere certeine
 alerent esgarder (1095)
 Vne grant liwe lez
 le grauer de la mer

Terre certaine alerent
 regarder
 Vne grant live loinz
 del grauer sur la mer

.....

Est vus Willame
 al conseil assene
 Od .xxx. mille de
 cheualers armez

Es vus Willame
 al manager asene (1690)
 Od .xxx. mile
 de cheualers armez

The passages have undoubtedly a common source.

This expression "terre certeine" occurs repeatedly in the *Willame*, almost always with the idea of leaving the seacoast and journeying inland. It suggests therefore the meaning *terra firma*, in the sense of the fixed and stable land, as distinguished from the shifting sand and gravel of the coast. This meaning is applicable in lines 229, 1095, 1116, 1686, 1703. In certain other

places, however, the meaning *terra firma* does not seem to apply. In *Foucon de Candie*¹⁰ Guillaume says that he wishes to advance into Spain, "Et chalengier Tiebaut Terre certaine."¹¹

In many mediaeval maps Carthagenia is placed on or near the north bank of the Ebro, in Catalonia.¹²

We consider that the geographic original of these names, where a Saracen country is indicated, was probably *Cerdagne*—a region comprising the slopes of the Pyrenees in Catalonia.

Confirmation of the tradition of A that Boeve is dead is found in Guillaume's speech welcoming Gui into the army:

Co dist Willame ben deis cheualer estre
Si fut tis pere & tis altres ancestre (1670)

The location of the battlefield near the shore of the sea is strongly indicated by the statement that the Saracens retire, as before,¹³ to their ships and "la halte eve de mer" (line 1700).

The statement (lines 1720-1725) that five nephews of Guillaume are captured in this battle, namely—Bertran, Guielin, Guischar, Galter de Termes, and Reiner, comes to the reader as a surprise. None of them has previously been mentioned, except possibly Guischar, whose death upon the battlefield was referred to in A. Here, in what purports to be a later event, he

¹⁰ Tarbé, p. 137.

¹¹ Cf. *La Clef d'Amor*, edited by Doutrepont, Halle, 1890, verse 507. Cf. variant of *Roland*, 1915; the MS. of Oxford has here "Cartagne," where MS. V gives "Cartaine."

¹² Cf. *Roland*, line 856: "Cerdagne;" also *Girart de Roussillon*, 7, 99, 134. Cf. "Sartaigne," *Foucon de Candie* (Tarbé, p. 156): "Lors s'avance .i. Païen qui fu nez en Sartaigne;" *Enfances Ogier*: 5639; *Anseïs de Carlage*: 10352. Cf. "Sartaggne," Béatrix (*Chevalier au Cygne*): 49; "Sartengne," *Aimeri de Narbonne*: 1780. Cf. L. Demaison: *Aimeri de Narbonne*, Table. Cf. H. Suchier: *Zeitschrift für Rom. Phil.*, XXIX, 654; according to Mr. Suchier the word is equivalent to "inhabitant de Chartres." Cf. P. Meyer: *Romania*, XXII. 603, note 1; R. Weeks: *Romania*, XXXIV. 248, note.

¹³ Cf. line 1104.

Résumé of C. Third Element of the Chanson (lines 1980-2647).

Guillaume rides over the field, full of wrath, battered, and worn. Suddenly he comes upon his nephew Vivien.

Vivien troue sur un estanc
A la funteine dunt li duit sunt brulant
Desuz la foille dun oliuer mult grant
Ses blanches mains croisies sur le flanc (1990)

Guillaume laments over his nephew in pathetic language. He says that he knighted Vivien "a mun palei a Termes." Guillaume adds (lines 2018-2022) that Vivien made his vow, never to retreat, just after he was knighted and that it was in keeping this that he was killed.

With line 2030, Vivien returns to consciousness and converses with Guillaume. Vivien prays, receives from Guillaume some consecrated bread, and dies (line 2051). Guillaume puts him on his own horse to take him "a Orengé" (line 2054). But he is now attacked by fifteen Saracen kings and obliged to lay Vivien down again. The Saracens surround Gui, kill his horse (formerly belonging to Deramé), and carry him away, bound, to the ships, before his uncle's eyes (lines 2071-2085). Guillaume's army is wholly destroyed, and Guillaume for the second time remains alone upon the field.

The redoubtable Saracen Alderufe (Aerofle) now approaches. He declares that Guillaume does not look like Bertran, Willame, Guielin, Walter de Termes, Guischarde, Girart, nor any of that proud geste. Evidently Guillaume is worn and battered by the long fighting. Alderufe tells Guillaume that not all the gold of Palerne would save him now. Guillaume attacks Alderufe with the sword "Ioiuse qui a Charlemaigne fu" (line 2141). Because of Alderufe's great height Guillaume is forced to strike him low, and cuts off his thigh (line 2145). Alderufe

falls to earth and Guillaume seizes and mounts his fine war-horse Florescele (line 2150). He then decapitates Guiborc's horse Balcan, lest it fall into the hands of the enemy, but immediately repents of it. Alderufe laments for his horse, which he says once belonged to Deramé. There is no other such horse in the world. He offers Guillaume four times its weight in gold. Far from accepting this offer, however, Guillaume cuts off Alderufe's head, and is now pursued by the pagans of "Pal-erne." Arrived at the gate of Orange, Guillaume has great difficulty in proving his identity and being admitted. Guiborc takes him for a Saracen. He rides the finest horse ever seen (lines 2228; 2229), and carries pagan arms. He tells Guiborc that he has just returned "del Archamp sur mer" (line 2253).

V ai perdu Viuien lalose
 Mun niefs Bertram i est enprisone (2255)
 Le fiz Bernard de bruban la cite
 & Guielin & Guischard lalose

In order to prove his identity, Guiborc requests Guillaume to free one hundred prisoners whom she sees with a troop of seven thousand Saracens, who are returning from the devastating of "Saint Martur de Turonie" (line 2261). These Saracens take Guillaume for "Reis Alderufe de Palerne sur mer," evidently from his horse and arms. Guillaume kills many of the Saracens and brings the captives back to Orange. But still Guiborc will not admit him.

Se ne me mustrez la bosce sur leues [le nes]
 Que aueit Willame le marchiz od le curb nes (2310)
 De la bataille reis Tebald lescler

As soon as he removes his helmet, she recognizes and admits him. Guiborc asks him what he has done with his four thousand seven hundred men. He replies that all lie dead "en larchamp" (line 2339). She asks what has become of Vivien and is much

distressed when she hears that he is dead. Guillaume gives the first details we have seen of the capture of Bertran. Guiborc is greatly pained, for she loved him much (lines 2355-2356). She asks after Gui, to whom she had given the standard of king Mabun, the horse of Oliver the Gascon, and the coat of mail and helm of Tibaut l'Escler (line 2361), also after Walter, Guielin, and count Renier. All are imprisoned in the Saracen ships. Guillaume says that two days ago he had fifteen thousand men (lines 2382-2383). He now goes up to the great dining hall, where Guiborc serves him.

Puis sunt assis a la plus basse table (2391)
Ne poeint de duel seer a la plus halte 15

Guillaume sees the empty benches and tables (line 2393) and laments for his great retinue dead in the Archamp.

Oh bone sale cum estes lung & lee
De totes parz vus uei si aurne

Guiborc has set the table for four thousand knights (line 2379), but they have not returned to enjoy her hospitality. Guillaume comforts Guiborc by saying (line 2410) that she has lost no blood relative. Guillaume's grief is such that he proposes to become a monk or hermit. Guiborc encourages him to go next morning straight to "Loun" to get help from "l'emperere." She advises him, if help is refused, to renounce his allegiance to the crown (line 2426). Guillaume accepts her advice and sets forth next morning with a lad of fifteen as squire. He weeps all day (line 2465) for Bertran, Guielin, and Vivien.

When he reaches Laon (line 2468), he tells the story of his losses. Vivien is dead and five nephews—Bertran, Walter de Termes, Renier, Guielin, and Guischard—are imprisoned (lines

15 Cf. lines 1401-1402.

2482-2485). The king has him brought into the palace, kisses him, and seats him at dinner. After dinner the king says to him: "Ne vus vi mais ben ad set anz passez." Guillaume replies:

Sire dist il ial sauez vus assez
 Io aueie espaigne si ben aquitez (2510)
 Ne cremeie home que de mere fust nez
 Quant me mandat Viuién lalose
 Que io menasse de oreng le barne

Of his seven thousand men (line 2515) not one remains:

Perdu ai Viuién lalosed
 Mis nies Bertram i est enprisone
 Le fiz Bertram de brusban la cite
 & Guielin & Guischarð al vis cler (2520)

King Louis declines to give aid, and Guillaume thereupon throws down his glove at the feet of the king and renounces his allegiance (lines 2531-2536). He is urged to retain his fief by "Rainald de Peiter" (line 2540)

Vn sun neuov de sa sorur primer (2541)

Other relatives of Guillaume present at court are: "Hernald (Ernaut) de Girunde", "Neimeri de Nerbune" (Aimeri de Narbonne), his father; "Garin dansune"; "Boeues de somarchiz"; and "Guibelin." All of them offer to furnish him with troops.

Co dist Boeues de somarchiz quons la cite (2560)
 Io sui sun frere se ne li puis faillir

Baldwin de Flandres addresses the king and shows how the Saracens may overrun all of France. The king now says that he will go himself, with thirty thousand men (lines 2587, 2588).

The queen, Blancheflor, who is Guillaume's sister, advises the king not to accede. She warns him against Guiborc, who, she says, was born in paganism and is skilled in the use of

drugs. The queen asserts that Guiborc would poison the king, Guillaume would then be king, Guiborc queen, and Blancheflor would be left desolate.

To this Guillaume replies in a most insulting tirade against the queen's character. He refers to her and Tedbald, and to the cowardice, in the Archamp, of Tedbald and Estormi. He says that these men were to guard the Archamp from the pagans, but that they fled and Vivien remained. He accuses the queen of wholesale immorality and of forgetfulness of him and the French army while they were suffering in the Archamp. He even goes to the length of threatening the queen's life and partially draws his sword from the scabbard. At this point his father, "Nemeri de Nerbune" (Aimeri de Narbonne), intervenes and Guillaume is calmed. Both "Nemeri" and the king side against the queen. Nemeri says:

Vostre sorur est mar fust ele nee (2628)

The king assures Guillaume that if he does not go himself he will send twenty thousand men. Guillaume thanks him and is satisfied.

In twenty days there were twenty thousand men assembled (line 2638). "Li emperere" presents this army to Guillaume. Guillaume thanks him, leaves, and spreads his tent under Mount Laon (line 2646).

Notes on Element C of the Willame

With line 1980, which has been designated as the opening line of Element C,¹⁶ there is a decided change in both the action and the spirit of the narration. Line 1979 seemingly brings the end of the battle, tells of victory and peace. Suddenly everything is again in anxious doubt. There is in the language a spirit of uncertainty, unrest, and gloom. Soon the storm bursts forth again in all its fury, victory is turned into defeat, and Guillaume is changed from a conqueror to a pitiful fugitive before a completely victorious foe. Both the literary style and the sudden turn of events indicate that this is another, a third, element.

The numerous references to Vivien lying "A la funteine dunt li duit sunt bruiant" seem to speak of the little brook in A where he fell.¹⁷

The statement in line 1989 that Guillaume finds Vivien "Desuz la foille dun oliuer mult grant" is in accord with line 926 in A: "Suz un arbre le poserent lez un sent[i]er."

The statement by Guillaume, that he knighted Vivien at his palace at Termes is not entirely understood, for the knightng is generally supposed to have occurred at Orange.

One of the most striking indications that C is a distinct element is to be found in the return to life of Vivien (line 2030).

¹⁶ Ante, pp. 23, 24.

¹⁷ Of, lines 844-847. And line 2010.

De .xv. liwes ni out funteine ne gue
Fors leve salee qui ert al flot de la mer (845)
Mais par mi le champ curt un duit troble
Dune roche ben pruf de la mer

Probably even the finding of Vivien's body by Guillaume is a comparatively late addition; but that Vivien should still be alive at this time is a manifest impossibility. According to A, Vivien was not only killed but hewn to pieces,¹⁸ in the first battle in the Archamp. Moreover, if the data given in A, B, C, be combined as if belonging to one homogeneous poem, it is found that Vivien has lain upon the bank of the stream for over ten days. Starting with the days of the week which are mentioned in this connection, and filling in the chronology in accordance with other data given, a consecutive series of days and events may be indicated somewhat as follows:

Wednesday or Thursday—Vivien begins battle in the Archamp.

Guillaume has just returned to Barcelona from the battle at Bordeaux.

Thursday to Saturday—First battle in the Archamp.

Saturday—Girart goes to bring Guillaume. *Death of Vivien* and all his men.

Saturday evening or Sunday morning—Girart arrives at Barcelona. Eating scene.

Sunday evening—Girart knighted. Guillaume and the army of thirty thousand men start from Barcelona.

Monday morning—Guillaume and the army arrive in the Archamp.

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday—Guillaume's first battle in the Archamp.

Thursday morning—Guillaume's army destroyed.

Thursday evening—Girart and Guischard killed; Guillaume flees and brings back the body of Guischard.

Thursday night (?)—Guillaume arrives with Guischard at his palace. Scene of the "basse table." (Place of difficulty in linking the accounts of versions A and B).

¹⁸ Cf. line 924: "Tut le detrenchent contre ual al grauer."

Sunday evening—Arming of Guillaume. Guillaume and the new army of thirty thousand men start for the Archamp. Gui follows.

Monday morning—Guillaume arrives for the second time in the Archamp.

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday—Guillaume's second battle in the Archamp.

Wednesday—Defeat of the Saracens; death of Deramé. *Finding of Vivien.*

Some of the references which seem to suggest the above chronology will be given here. The days definitely named in the text are those of Guillaume's first battle in the Archamp, as given in A, and those of his second conflict on that field, as told in B. The duration of the former of these battles is given in the following lines:

Cele bataille durad tut vn lundi
et al demain et tresque mecredi (1120)
Que ne la laschat ne hure ne prist fin
Iusqual ioesdi deuant prime un petit

Starting with this information and working backward, the days of the preceding events may be fixed. It has been seen that the battle began on Monday. It was therefore on Monday morning that Guillaume arrived at the Archamp, for the battle began immediately after his arrival (lines 1087 ss.). He had left his city on the preceding evening, that is, Sunday evening, and traveled all of Sunday night. The supporting lines are as follows:

Quant il auesprad a la bone cite
Issu sen est Willame al curbnies
.....
.....
A la freidure vnt tote nuit erre
Iusqual demain que le iur apparut cler
Si cum il furent en larchamp sur mer (1088)

It was on the evening before the departure of the army that Girart was knighted. "I dunc aprimes fu Girard adube" (line 1073). He was therefore armed a knight on Sunday evening. But one day had intervened since he reached Barcelona; hence he arrived on Saturday or Sunday morning. He seems to have left Vivien that same day. Though the time is not definitely stated, the death of Vivien would seem to have occurred on the day that Girart left the Archamp. Saturday afternoon is therefore suggested as possibly the time when Vivien, the young hero, fell.¹⁹ Line 838 speaks of the length of the day for Vivien after Girart left: "& long le iur si nout treis iurz mange." It is stated in line 709 that Girart had also fasted three days. It is therefore inferred that these were the three days of Vivien's battle, and by reckoning three days back from Saturday, Wednesday or possibly Thursday, is obtained, as the day on which the battle began. And from what Guillaume says to Guiborc (lines 1015-1018, on Saturday) it is known that he had returned to

¹⁹ We do not agree with Mr. Suchier (*Zeitschrift für Rom. Phil.*, XXIX. 648) that the refrain "Lunsdi al vespre," of line 930, necessarily indicates that Vivien died on Monday. If the expression refers to anything in the action, it is to the journey of Girart, as the following lines will show:

Desore mes dirrai de Girard lesquier
Cum il alad a Willame nuncier
Lunsdi al vespre (930)
A barzelune la le dirrad al cunte Willame

As remarked by Suchier (*Zeit. f. Rom. Phil.*, XXIX. 648, note 1), the literal adoption of Monday here would require a whole week to intervene before Guillaume reached the Archamp, whereas there intervenes but one day. We consider that, as "Lunsdi al vespre" is the stereotyped refrain of the *Willame*, it cannot safely be taken as a definite indication of the time of any particular action. Another indication that the refrain "Lunsdi al vespre" is not significant is that it occurs in line 1760 just before a reference (line 1770) "U nus trovames lunsdi les Sarazins," which shows that Monday is past.

Barcelona from the battle at Bordeaux only three days before, or about the time that Vivien's battle began.

Beginning with Thursday (line 1120) it is learned that Guillaume's army was on that day destroyed (lines 1122-1127) and that in the evening of Thursday, Girart and Guischard were killed and Guillaume fled from the field.²⁰ If this refrain is to be trusted further, Guillaume reached home (line 1295) and the scene of the "basse table" and the scene with Gui occurred that same night (lines 1399, 1481). However, the refrain cannot be given much weight as to time, unless supported by other evidence.

Turning now to Guillaume's second battle, it is learned from line 1770 that it began on Monday. Guillaume was rescued from the Saracens by Gui on Wednesday (line 1779), Deramé was killed on that day (line 1978), and it would seem that the finding of Vivien was also on Wednesday, as this occurrence follows closely.

Lines 1561-1563 state that Gui traveled all night and reached the Archamp in the morning, the day of the battle. Guillaume and the army also left the city the evening before (lines 1504, 1505). Therefore both Guillaume and Gui left the city Sunday evening and reached the Archamp Monday morning. It would seem, from lines 1493, 1494: "Tant dort Willame quil fu avespre, Puis salt del lit cum hardi sengler," that Guillaume slept during the day of Sunday and awoke and was armed Sunday evening. The time of Guillaume's arrival at the city is not definitely fixed, but would seem to have been on Sunday or Saturday evening. It will be seen that this is later than the time indicated by the refrains in lines 1295, 1399, 1481 (Thursday night). The difficulty here occurs in the connecting of versions A and B.

²⁰ Cf. "Toesdi al uespre" (lines 1126, 1163, 1207, 1226).

Either there must be a refusal to give any weight to the refrain "Toesdi al uespre" (lines 1126, 1163, 1207, 1226, 1295, 1399, 1481) and a conclusion that Guillaume did not reach home Thursday night, or else it must be admitted that there is a conflict in this part of the chronology. By reasoning back from Guillaume's second battle, it has been inferred that he awoke on Sunday evening from his first sleep, after his return. How then are the intervening days—Friday and Saturday²¹ to be accounted for? This difficult point in the chronology is the rusty link in the chain of events which connects elements A and B, and it is a still further indication that they are in fact two versions.

The presence in C of the Saracen leader Alderufe (Aerofle) is contrary to A, in which it is said that he had been killed (line 641) by Vivien at Gironde or at Saragossa. It is an unmistakable evidence that C is a later version.

The list of French leaders mentioned by Alderufe to Guillaume is the same as that of the captured nephews (lines 1720-1722) except that Girart is substituted for Renier. Alderufe does not seem to be aware of their capture, according to B, much less of the death of Guischard and Girart, as in A.

Guillaume's present weakness is clearly indicated by his offer to make amends to Alderufe, if he had ever injured him.

The fight between Alderufe and Guillaume seems to be a copy of the fight with Deramé in B. The peculiar incident of cutting off the thighs of these men had probably but one original.²² Also the seizure in each case of the enemy's horse and the Saracen's lamentations for him. The lament of Alderufe is here practically identical with that of Deramé on the former

²¹ The fact that Guillaume is here bringing the body of Guischard may account for the extra time required for this journey.

²² Cf. lines 1924 and 2145.

occasion.²³ Nearly all the circumstances of these two episodes are so strikingly similar as to point to a single original. This is another evidence that B and C are separate versions. It was in conformity with the natural tendencies to keep the principal epic heroes in life, in order that they might be available for future use, that in the later redactions of chansons lesser heroes are sacrificed for the benefit of the greater. Thus in the case before us Alderufe has been substituted for Deramé. And it is known from versions still later than C in the *Willame* that the Alderufe incident wholly superseded the other and survived.

One marked difference between the episodes of Deramé and Alderufe, is that in the former the Saracen king is slain by Gui; in the latter, as Gui is then a prisoner, it is Guillaume himself who kills Alderufe.

The pagans of Palerne who now pursue Guillaume were evidently with Alderufe, who in other passages is distinctly connected with that city. Probably the city of Palermo, Sicily, is meant.

It is said that the Saracens pursue Guillaume "Droit a Orange." Orange, the cyclic capital of Guillaume, situated on the lower course of the Rhone, here enters for the first time into the real action of the chanson. In A, Girart found Guillaume and Guiborc at Barcelona and from there the army set out for the Archamp. In B the city is not named, but the reader would naturally assume that here also it is Barcelona. Now in C Guillaume's return is to Orange, which change is in line with all the later traditions. The tendency is to remove the events from Spain and to place them in southern France.

When Guillaume arrives at Orange, he carries pagan arms. These are evidently the arms of Alderufe, yet no mention has been made of his having taken the weapons of either Alderufe

²³ Cf. lines 1941 ss. with 2200 ss.

or Deramé. But the band of Saracens which Guillaume encounters at Orange, takes him for Alderufe, evidently because of the horse and arms.

When Guillaume recounts to Guiborc the battle in the Archamp, and how he has lost Vivien (lines 2254-2257), it would seem to be the first, instead of the second, time that he has made this announcement. Again there seems to be a contradiction with A in regard to Guischard. Here he is represented as being a prisoner, whereas in A he was killed. The fact that C is a version distinct from A is clearly indicated. The list of nephews captured which is given in the above passage (Bertran, Guielin, and Guischard) harmonizes with that in B, however, except that a few names are omitted in C.

The reference in line 2261 to the band of seven thousand Saracens who are just returning from devastating "saint martur de turonie" refers to the church of St. Martin de Tours. Roderic Ximenes says ²⁴ that the Saracens under Abd-er-Rahmân (the historical original of Deramé) devastated Tours and the church there before the battle of Poitiers, in the year 732.

There are several conflicting statements in regard to the number of men under Guillaume. According to B he took with him thirty thousand men. In C, line 2244, Guiborc tells Guillaume that he should have with him seven thousand men. This accords with Guillaume's statement to king Louis (line 2515) that of his seven thousand men not one remains. In lines 2336, 2337 Guiborc asks Guillaume:

Sire dist ele quas tu fait de ta gent
Dunt tu menas quatre mil &. vii. cent

Guillaume expresses no surprise as to the number of men that she says were in his army and replies naturally (lines 2338, 2339):

²⁴ *Historia Arabum*, XIV. 26.

Par ma fel dame uencu les vnt paens
Bouches sanglantes gisent en larchamp.

This number, four thousand seven hundred, should be considered in connection with the statement of Guiborc a little later (lines 2377-2380) in which she says to Guillaume:

Leue tes mains sire si alez manger
Des hui matin le tai fait apareiller
Auer en poez a quatre mil cheualer
& a les serganz & a tuz les esquier

The number of men represented as being in the army is practically the same in the last two passages and there seems little doubt that there is a connection between them. Again in lines 2382, 2383 Guillaume says that only two days before he had nearly fifteen thousand men. It seems probable that the various different numbers given for Guillaume's army are relics of different versions of the story.

When Guiborc learns, in C, that Vivien has been killed, she is greatly distressed, and seems not to have heard of it before, whereas she was informed of it in B. The account here in C is merely an alteration of the corresponding scene in B.

Guiborc's statement, in line 2361, that she gave to Gui "& le halberc & le healme Tebbald le[s]clauun" strengthens somewhat the statement in A that Tibaut is dead.

The duration of the battle in C seems to be fixed by Guillaume's statement, in lines 2382, 2383, that not two days ago he had fifteen thousand men.

The scene of the "basse table" in C is unmistakably in the chief dining hall of the palace. Guillaume sees the vacant benches at the tables (line 2393) and laments for his great retinue who formerly occupied them. He speaks of the great length and breadth of the hall (line 2398). The tables are set for four thousand knights (line 2379). This scene is probably derived from that in B, and the earlier scene evidently took place

also in the main dining hall. The general similarity of the two scenes is an additional argument that C is a separate version.

When king Louis says to Guillaume, after dinner at Laon: "Ne vus vi mais ben ad set anz passez" (line 2507), the interval referred to would seem to have elapsed since the raising of the Long Siege of Orange, at the close of which, according to some sources, Louis was present.²⁵ It may correspond with the seven years of Vivien's conquest of Catalonia, according to the *Chevalerie Vivien*, or to the conquest of Aragon and the three succeeding years of Vivien's kingdom, according to the *Nerbonesi*.²⁶ The number seven is, however, so conventional that one cannot base any reliable chronology upon it.

Guillaume's statement to the king (lines 2509-2513) that at the time Vivien called upon him for aid, Guillaume had conquered Spain may refer to the Conquest of Aragon, as in the *Nerbonesi*, in which Guillaume commands the Christian army, or to the fact that Vivien gives to Guillaume the captured cities of Catalonia, according to the *Chevalerie*.

It is also to be noticed that in C (line 2513) Guillaume seems to set out, not from Barcelona, as in A, but from Orange.

In lines 2518, 2519 Bertran is represented as the son of Bertran.

Mis nies Bertram i est enprisonne
Le fiz Bertram de brusban la cite

On the surface this looks like a clerical error for Bertran fiz Bernard. It may, however, be a relic from an older tradition as to Bertran's parentage. It should be noted in this connection that in the *Willehalm* of Wolfram von Eschenbach, Bertran is always spoken of as a son of Aimeri.

²⁵ Cf. *Le Storie Nerbonesi*, I.

²⁶ Vol. II.

When the king refuses to go, in response to Guillaume's call for aid, the words "A ceste feiz" suggest that he has aided Guillaume in the past. This is in harmony with the traditions of the cycle, according to which Louis has acceded several times to Guillaume's requests for military support. For example he is said in the *Enfances Vivien* to have brought an army and rescued Vivien at Luiserne, and in the *Nerbonesi* he is present when Guillaume is relieved at the close of the Long Siege of Orange, both of which events are represented as having occurred before the passage in question. This line then may be taken as supporting, in slight measure at least, the above accounts.

The reference in lines 2540, 2541 to "Rainald de Peiter"—"Vn sun neuov de sa sorur primer"—seems to be the only known allusion to this nephew of Guillaume. It may be a relic from the connection with this geste of Guillaume I, comte de Poitiers, 935, and duc d'Aquitaine, 950, according to the supposition of Léon Gautier.²⁷

Line 2541 implies that Guillaume had more than one sister, which is in accord with the traditions of the other chansons. Boeve says in line 2561 that he is the brother of Guillaume. In A he was brother-in-law; in C he seems to be represented as an own brother. A comparison of lines 297, 298, in A, which indicate that Boeve is dead shows an absolute contradiction between A and C.

With reference to the queen's charge that Guiborc would poison the king (lines 2590-2593), it may be said that there are many passages in various epics which establish the tradition that Guiborc was something of a sorceress. The following is the passage in question from the *Willame*:

²⁷ *Les Epopées Françaises*, IV.

Nu ferez sire co respunt la reine
Dame Guiburc fu ne en paisnisme (2590)
Si set maint art & mainte pute guische
Ele conuist herbes ben temprer mescines
Tost vus ferreit enherber v oscire
Willame ert dunc reis & Guiburc reine
Si remaindreie doleruse & chaitive (2595)

When Aimeri says to Guillaume (line 2628): "Vostre sorur est mar fust ele nee," his words may imply that the charges of Guillaume against the character of the queen were not unfounded, or may simply express his indignation at her opposition.

According to the *Memoirs de Claude Fauchet*,²⁸ Blancheflor was a daughter of duke Naimés of Bavaria and a sister of Bertran. Then she would not be a sister to Guillaume. If the queen was not originally Guillaume's sister, this scene would be less repugnant. It may be also that the woman who opposed Guillaume was at first not the queen, but possibly a certain daughter of Charlemagne who married Arneïs, the traitor, and who would thus naturally be hostile to Guillaume, who had murdered her husband.²⁹ Louis historically had a wife named Ermengard.

Louis at first offers to go in person to the relief of Orange, with thirty thousand men (lines 2587, 2588), but later says that, if he does not go himself, he will send twenty thousand men. His real desire seems to be to do as little as will content Guillaume. The latter appears satisfied with the smaller number suggested and this is the number of men who actually assemble (line 2638).

²⁸ Cited by P Meyer: *Romania*, XIII. 10.

²⁹ Cf. *Couronnement de Louis*.

Résumé of R. Fourth Element of the Chanson (lines 2647-3553, end).

De la cuisine al rei issit un bacheler (2647)

The strange and uncouth figure which here comes upon the scene is Renoart (Reneward). He is of great size and prodigious strength and carries over his shoulder a "tinel" or huge mace, which no man of later times could carry. He at once asks Guillaume's permission to accompany him to the battle in the Archamp, where, he says, he will be of more assistance than fifteen of the best knights. Guillaume offers to have him knighted and supplied with arms, but Renoart will use no weapon but the tinel. Upon opposition to his departure on the part of the chef, under whom Renoart has served, Renoart knocks him down, and runs off to Guillaume's tent. There follows an account of how the servants get Renoart intoxicated, steal the tinel, and how Renoart recovers it and kills several of his tormentors.

The army starts in the morning. Renoart, still tipsy, follows on foot. On fording a stream, he is sobered by the cold water and remembers that he has left the tinel behind. He tells Guillaume that he has had the tinel for seven years at Laon (line 2741). He rushes back and fetches it.

After reaching Orange (line 2791), Guillaume tells Guiborc that he has twenty thousand men from "lempere de france" (line 2798). Thereupon there ensues the following interesting dialogue:

Ne vient il dunc. nun dame. co mest laid
 Malade gist a sa chapele a es
 & dist Guiborc cest vers auez vus fait.
 Sil ore gist ia na releue il mes
 Ne uoille Dev qui tote rien ad fait (2805)

Guiborc now asks Renoart who his parents were and where he was born.

Dame dist il despaigne le regne
Si sui fiz al fort rei Derame
& Oriabel est ma mere de ultre mer (2825)

Guiborc recognizes Renoart and tells him she once had a brother of that name.

Before dawn Renoart breaks a pillar of the palace with his club, routs everyone out, and compels the army to start in most precipitate fashion for the Archamp (lines 2895-2917)

Lines 2928, 2929, read that,

Willame en ad lost de france mene
Tresque il vindrent en larchamp enz le pre

Lines 2940-2942 also read:

Willame en ad lost de france mene
Tresque il uindrent en larchamp sur mer
& quill virent les barges & les nies

When the battle is near, Guillaume gives leave to all who are afraid, that they may desert him,

Quen dulce france sen poent returner (2951)

The cowards are pleased, for,

En dulce france se uoldrunt returner (2955)

Renoart meets the deserters, drives them back, and leads them into the forefront of the battle.

The battle lasts all day, all night, and the following day (line 2989). Through the Archamp flows a stream of blood sufficient to turn a millwheel (lines 2992, 2993).

Renoart now goes down to the shore, to destroy the Saracen ships, lest the enemy,

senfuirent as undes de halte mer (3011)

Renoart kills king Ailred of Cordes, enters his ship, finds count Bertran imprisoned on board, and frees him. Bertran tells him of the four other captives:

Walter de termes & Reiner le sene
& Guilin & Guischard al vis cler (3055)

Renoart asks:

Bertram sire sez tu ben gouverner (3056)
Oil aiui io en soi ia dis assez

And when Renoart gets the ship afloat,

Bertram est al governail ale (3066)

Renoart now frees the remaining prisoners, who are confined in another ship. He kills several Saracen kings and procures horses for the men just liberated. They find Guillaume on a hill and are affectionately welcomed by him. In the list of prisoners freed (lines 3151-3153), Renier has been replaced by Girart. Line 3216 mentions for the first time "Huges."

Renoart kills many formidable Saracen leaders, among them his uncle, King Aildre (Ailred), and in so doing breaks his tincl.

Vne grant teise en fert le bastun al pre
En treis meitez est bruse le tincl (3303)

The Saracens rejoice at the breaking of the tincl and attack Renoart, but he drives them off with his bare fists. Then he bethinks himself of the sword given him by Guiborc. With it he cuts down through both king Foré and his horse and the sword sinks in the ground to the hilt. Renoart is delighted at the execution by "si petit arme" (line 3329).

The Saracens are routed (lines 3333-3341). They cry

Fulum nus ent en mer en cel abisme (3335)

But Renoart has ruined all the ships, and in consequence, those that do not escape by land are killed:

un sul ne remeint mie (3341)

In the next few lines the French army is suddenly transferred to Orange.

Sonent leur greilles si sen sunt tresturne
 Dreit a orange le mirable cite (3347)
 Escrient leve asseent al digner

Guillaume forgets to invite Renoart to dinner, whereupon there follows the scene (already famous in *Aliscans* and the *Willehalm*), of the "Wrath of Renoart." He starts to return to Spain, where he will raise a great army. When he comes back, he will do to the Christians as he has done to the Saracens. Four thousand knights sent to recall him are driven back in terror and one hundred of them are killed. Guillaume now goes himself, with four of his nephews and Guiborc. When they overtake Renoart, he is at first very defiant and threatening. When appealed to by Guiborc, however, he readily pardons Guillaume for her sake. As a final indication as to what manner of man they are dealing with, he hurls a beam, with which he has lately done such execution, fourteen arpents, over the heads of three hundred Frenchmen. This evidence of prowess so terrifies the knights that one hundred of them become sick with fever. All now return to Orange in peace and Renoart is carefully served at dinner.

There follows (lines 3489 ss.) the baptism of Renoart,
 al muster saint Omer (3489)

Guillaume gives him seven castles in fief:

& Ermentrud li dunent a moiller
 & tote la tere Viuien le ber (3500)

Questioned by Guiborc, Renoart now recounts his true history. His father, Deramé, on taking a journey, left the boy Renoart in charge of his tutor, Apolicant. Renoart ran away, playing with his ball along the seashore. He got into a boat and was driven by a storm out to sea. Some merchants rescued him, brought him to land, and placed him on sale at a fair. Here the king of France bought him and then took him to Paris.

But when the king heard from Renoart that he was the son of Deramé, he put him in his kitchen and swore that he should never have better employment. There he remained seven years. Now he has killed thirty of his relatives in the Archamp. And here occur the pretty lines:

Guiburec loi si passad auant
Baisez mei frere ta soror sui naissant

Four lines more and the *Chanson de Willame* is ended. It contains in all three thousand five hundred and fifty-three lines.

■

Notes on R. Fourth Element of the Chanson.

All the latter part of the poem, from line 2647, is designated as a fourth element of the *Willame*. Although the change occurs in the middle of a *laisse*, it is none the less evident. The welding of one poem into another within a *laisse* was a well known trick of the *remanieurs* and was intended to produce the appearance of a homogeneous poem. With line 2647, "De la quisine al rei issit un bachelier," is introduced for the first time the strange figure of Renoart, a young giant, whom seven years of service in the king's kitchen have besotted, but whose superhuman strength and reckless violence make him a terror to friend and foe. From this point on, a great and sudden change in the story is manifest. Renoart becomes the all-absorbing figure, the principal hero. Even Guillaume and king Louis are dwarfed beside him and, though Guillaume is nominally in command of the great army, the chief figure is everywhere Renoart. It is his individual prowess that wins the day for the Christian cause, and without him, as is repeatedly stated, the battle would have been lost.

This latter part of the *Willame* furnishes us with what is probably the second most primitive redaction extant of the once independent chanson of *Reneward* (or *Renoart*).

It occupies nine hundred and seven lines, or a little more than one-fourth of the *Chanson de Willame*.

After Guillaume has returned to Orange, bringing with him twenty thousand men from "l'emperere de france" (line 2798), Guiborc asks him:

Ne vient il dunc. nun dame. co mest laid
Malade gist a sa chapele a Es
& dist Guiborc: cest vers auez vus fait
Sil ore gist ia na releve il mes
Ne uoille Dev qui tote rien ad fait (2805)

This remarkable passage evidently refers to Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle. He was probably the ruler in the original *Renoart*. And this is as it should be, if one accepts the theory according to which Guillaume de Toulouse was the original of Guillaume d'Orange, for Charlemagne outlived by two years the historical Guillaume of Toulouse. Charlemagne died in 814 and Guillaume in 812. King Louis is rarely or never mentioned in the epics as being at Aix, though there is such a mention of Blancheflor.⁸⁰ Again the idea that the emperor is sick applies better to the aged Charlemagne than to young Louis. The above lines appear to be a relic from a very early stage of the chanson. In line 2804 the subjunctive form "releve" expresses a wish, which perhaps amounts here almost to a curse, pronounced out of spite because the emperor has not accompanied the army of relief in person. It is another suggestion of Guiborc's occult powers and may be compared with the assertions of the queen about her (lines 2589-2595).

It is gathered from lines 2825 and 2873, 2874 that Orable (Guiborc) was named for her mother, Oriabel, the mother also of Renoart.

Evidence that the battle of Renoart is fought outside of France, and possibly in Spain, is contained in several lines referring to the desertion by the cowards on the battlefield. Before the conflict has begun, Guillaume gives leave to retire to all those who are afraid:

En bataille en larchamp sur mer
 Qu'en dulce france sen poent retourner

The cowards are pleased at this for,

En dulce france se uoldrunt retourner (2955)

It is, of course, possible that France may here mean only the Ile-de-France, but because of other data about the battle,

⁸⁰ *Foucon de Candie*, MS. 25,518, fol. 89, vo.

the word France has here probably the broader meaning of the entire country of France.

The tradition of the desertion of Guillaume by a part of his troops may go back to the similar desertion of Guillaume of Toulouse at the battle of the Orbieu, in 793.³¹

The reference to the "undes de halte mer" (lines 3011, 3074) can only apply to the sea proper, probably here the Mediterranean.

There are several lines in R which seem of significance in connection with the appellation "Bertran li Timonier," which is rather frequent in various chansons. For example, in line 3056, when Renoart asks: "Bertram sire sez tu ben gouverner?" Bertran replies: "Oil aiui io en soi ia dis assez." And when Renoart gets the boat afloat, we read that "Bertram est al gouernail ale" (line 3066). These lines indicating Bertran's experience with ships strengthen the impression that an episode has been lost from the chansons which explained the origin of this tradition. There is a line in *Ogier le Danois* which may refer to the original account. In this line Bertran says:

Je fus là où fut pris li dromons³²

In the list of prisoners freed (lines 3151-3153), Renier has been replaced by Girart. As Girart was killed in A, this is another indication that R is a later version.

The reference to Hugues in line 3215 is the only mention of this person in the *Willame*.

When the routed Saracens cry out (line 3335): "Fuium nus ent en mer en cel abisme," it seems clear that they refer to the sea proper and not to any river.

³¹ Cf. *Annales Moissacenses*, ann. 793; Dom Bouquet. *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*, V. 74 "quia socii ejus dimiserunt eum fugientes."

³² The subject of Bertran le Timonier has received special study on the part of Professor Raymond Weeks.

One of the most abrupt changes in the narration of the *Willame* is found in the sudden transfer of the French army to Orange after their final victory in the Archamp.

Sonent lur greilles si sen sunt tresturne
Dreit a orange le mirable cite (3347)
Escrient leve asseent al digner

The passage would suggest that the poet conceived of the battlefield as not far distant from Orange, in spite of the many references to the sea, which have been retained from other redactions.

The fact that to Renoart are given the territories of Vivien seems especially just, inasmuch as he is the chief avenger of Vivien and the liberator of the captive knights.

The vexed question of Guillaume's nose seems forever settled by the testimony of the *Willame*, which shows that the later spelling "court nez" or "cort nez" was a mistake for "corb nes" or "nez courbé." The conception that Guillaume had an aquiline nose is not only more pleasing, but more in accord with the oft repeated characterization of his face as "proud." Gaston Paris expressed the opinion that "corb" [=courbé] might have been the original appellation, and the discovery of the *Willame* has justified his supposition.

■

OTHER SOURCES CONNECTED WITH THE WILLAME

There will now be taken up, in their probable chronological order, several other sources related to the *Chanson de Willame*, their points of resemblance and difference will be considered, and an endeavor made to trace the various developments of the legend. These epics are the following: *Foucon de Candie*, *Le Storie Nerbonesi*, *Aliscans*, *Les Enfances Vivien*, and *La Chevalerie Vivien*.

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FOUCON DE CANDIE.



FOUCON DE CANDIE

INTRODUCTION

The chanson of *Foucon de Candie* was probably written, as stated in the poem, by Herbert le Duc of Dammartin. The date of its composition is considered by Gaston Paris to be the beginning of the second third of the twelfth century, perhaps about 1140.

In the primitiveness of its traditions, it is perhaps second to the *Chanson de Willame*. Its action follows the death of Vivien and is parallel with, though considerably different from, that of the *Willame*.

The chanson of *Foucon* seems to be in the main homogeneous and written by one man. The same aesthetic taste and literary style are discernible throughout. Herbert was evidently a gallant and chivalrous man, who was fond of the *belles choses* of life. His work differs materially from most of the chansons de geste in its introduction of love affairs, tourneys, embassies, and the like, which usually find little or no place in the Old French epics. Instead of single, decisive battles, as in the *Willame*, we find in *Foucon* a long series of battles, skirmishes, and personal encounters. The carrying of a lady's sleeve in battle, as a love token by a knight, seems to have been a well known custom at the time of the present redaction of *Foucon*.¹ The work of fairies is frequently referred to. In its chivalrous and gallant tone, *Foucon* resembles the *poèmes d'aventure* of Chrétien de Troyes.

Foucon is indeed peculiar in its combination of very early and comparatively late traditions. Herbert le Duc undoubtedly

¹ Cf. Prosper Tarbé, *Le Roman de Fouleque de Candie*. Reims 1860, pp. 8, 14, 26, 36, 70, 78, 81, 113, 115, 125.

drew from various primitive sources. This is indicated by the internal evidence of the chanson, quite independently of the numerous references to books of which Herbert says he made use.² Such assertions are, of course, often mere commonplaces of the epics.

² Cf. Tarbé, pp. 150 etc.

Résumé of the Chanson of Foucon de Candie.

The song of Tibaut and king Deramé. Deramé is returning into his kingdom of Spain. He has been so long absent, that the people of his land have thought him killed by Guillaume. He sends greeting to Tibaut, who had also thought him dead. Deramé tells how Guillaume had struck him down, how he feigned death, and was carried into a meadow where Renoart, Guiborc, and Bertran were. A great bird, called Alerion, carried him away. He had various adventures in a distant land where he remained for thirty-two years.

Deramé and Tibaut, with an army of two hundred thousand men, come into "Alisans," to take vengeance on Guillaume. The Saracens pillage and burn.

A messenger announces this to Guillaume, who sets out with Guichart, Girart, and Gui. They find the Saracens in Aliscans. The nephews, being in the advance in the ensuing battle, are overwhelmed by numbers and send a messenger for Guillaume, who comes immediately. All the French are killed, except Guichart, Girart, and Guielin, who are taken prisoners by Tibaut and confined in a ship.

In a *laisse* which explains the relationship of the heroes, we read:

Girars et Guis, cil furent fil Buevon,
 Cousin Guichart qui fu chevaliers bon.
 Icil fu frere Vivien le baron
 Q'en Alisans ocirent li gloton.
 Li quens Bertrans i fu pris a bandon,
 Girars et Guis et maint autre baron;
 Paien les tinrent en ler nes en prison;
 Les delivra Renoars, li baron,
 A sa perce quarée.³

Guillaume charges into the midst of the enemy, but is obliged to flee to escape death.

The announcement is then made that this poem was written by "Herbert,—li Duc à Danmartin."

Guillaume flees alone from the battlefield. He has left dead behind him, not only Vivien, but also one Guérin.⁴

Guillaume is pursued by Baudus, "li filz Aquin." Baudus finally overtakes him and decapitates his horse. Guillaume wears a helmet which Marsilion gave to Ganelon, "pour la grant traison." Guillaume kills Baudus.⁵

In his flight, Guillaume passes through the mountainous country of "Garaisse." He laments:

En Aleschanz ai fait male gaigne,
De mon linage dolerouse bargaigne.⁶

He crosses the mountain torrent, "la Rostiere." In MS. 25518 Guillaume laments for his nephews Girart, Gui, and Guichart, who are captured.

Guillaume is pursued all the way to Orange by his principal epic enemy Tibaut. In the city are three hundred men who had been left there sick and wounded. Guillaume reaches the gate of Orange in bad plight and is at once admitted by Guiborc. Tibaut immediately seizes the country and besieges Orange.

Tost cuide avoir Guillaume en sa baillie,
Prendre sa fame, et lui tolir la vie.⁷

In the morning Guillaume and Guiborc look out and see the great camp of Saracens. Guiborc proposes to send to Bernard and Boeve a messenger for aid. She has found a mes-

⁴ Tarbé, p. 3.

⁵ MS. Brit. Mus., Bib. Reg. No. 20 D, XI., fol. 261.

⁶ Ibid, l. 128.

⁷ Ibid, l. 224.

senger, "Du parenté Ogier de Danemarche." He shall go to see Hugues, lord of Florinville, who married Guillaume's niece. Referring to this lady, the text says:

Mors est ses frères Vivien, bien le sache,
Et Guischars pris par son grant vasselage.⁸

Guillaume says that he saw Guichart, Girart, and Gui bound upon a ship. He tells Guiborc that all of his family could not assemble a force sufficient to raise the siege of Orange. Guillaume laments:

Las ! mes linagnes est a declin tornéz,
Mors est mes nies q'ert de ma seror néz (314)
Et Guichars pris, un nouviaux adoubéz,
Qui ja ne fust d'armes mauves claméz,
Qui apres moi tenist mes heritéz.⁹

Guillaume agrees to send the messenger and the latter sets forth from Orange.

Gerars ot non, de Denemarche néz.¹⁰

If there had been a delay of three days, the city would have been captured.

Guiborc reminds Girart, before he starts, of her great service to him, in saving him from decapitation in the paved hall where he had been condemned. At that time she received him into her retinue. For this he should gladly recompense her.

Girart starts on his mission in a fine ship. Guillaume laments that he ever took Orange and the lands of Tibaut.

Next day the ship arrives at Florinville.¹¹ Hugues and his nephew, "Gaudins li bruns, li fiz au conte Elain," meet them. Hugues asks of Girart:

⁸ MS. Brit. Mus. l. 300.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Tarbé, p. 10.

Que fet Guillaumes qui fu nies au Lombart? (400)
Tient il en pes Orenge et Porpaillart?

And Girart answers:

Nenil voir, sire, con Tiebaus la depart,
Combatu sont enz el val de Damart.¹²

The text of the above passage is better in the Tarbé edition, as follows:

Que fait Guillaume, qui fut fils au Lombard?
Tient — il en paix Orange et Porpaillart?
— Nenil voir, sire, car Tiebaut les départ,
Combatu sont en la val de Danart.
Desconfit l'ont Païen et Acopart,
Vivien mort, et retenu Guischart,
Les fils Bovon ont mis en un chanart.¹³

Girart delivers the letter from Guillaume, which is read in the hall, before Hugues, Gaudin le Brun, Hugues' wife, and her son Foucon, the hero of the present chanson. In the letter occurs the line, referring to Guillaume:

De Barzelone quant il issit sousléz.

Thence he took sixty thousand men to the battle. All are killed.

We also learn that Guichart is a captive, and "li doi fil Buevon." Foucon's mother laments for Vivien and Guichart, saying: "De mes deux frères ai doloureuse rente."

The messengers find Bertran at Puy-Ste-Marie with Gautier de Termes. Bertran reads the letter from Guillaume, and later,

Li quens envoie descl en Normendie
Aus chevaliers qui d'avoir ont envie.¹⁴

¹² MS. Brit. Mus., l. 403.

¹³ Tarbé, ll. 30-36.

¹⁴ MS. Brit. Mus., fol. 262, vo.

Now the messenger goes to Commarchis, where he finds Boeve playing chess. Girart tells him of the death of Vivien and adds:

El Guichardes est en prison menéz
Au deux tes fils que tu as engendrez
En ont païen en la mer esquipéz.

Boeve asks:

Hé las ! pecchieres, qui les en a menéz?

and Girart replies:

En non Dieu, sire, Thiebaux et Desraméz.¹⁵

Manuscript 25518 has here:

Oi las! pecchieres, quis ja donc (en) menéz?
Cil de Berri qui tant par est provéz
De coardie, honiz et vergondéz,
James a cort ne doit estre mandéz.

Guillaume's relatives, with their troops, assemble at Florinville.

The mother of Foucon is still in sorrow.

La duel de frère et de la buene gent,
Que Sarrazin ont occis à torment.¹⁶

She thinks that Guillaume must have surrendered:

N'a que. c. homes, tant s'i est combattus.

Line 211 mentions Ermentrud, who is said to have married Renoart.¹⁷

Bertran knights Foucon.

At the beginning of what Tarbé calls, "La Deuxième Chanson" of Foucon, occur the lines:

Le roi de Cordes ot Orenge assise;
Ses niès Thiébautz ot sa guerre remprise
Et avec lui sa séror Anfélise.¹⁸

¹⁵ MS. Brit. Mus., fol. 262, vo.

¹⁶ Tarbé, p. 10.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 10.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 11.

Deramé reminds Tibaut how Guillaume had taken Orange, wedded Tibaut's wife, and killed his sons.

One of the principal enemies of Guillaume is Mauduit de Rame.

It is reported in a Saracen council that the French army has assembled at Florinville and that a young hero, Foucon, is with them.

Niez Vivien qui destruit ol nos loys.

In response to a summons from Tibaut, Guillaume is about to surrender the city, when a messenger arrives from Anfélise, telling of the approach of a French army of one hundred thousand men.

Anfélise is mentioned as the person

Por qui Tiébaut fu a la mort aquis
Et prise Espagne, &c.¹⁹

Line 291 of Tarbé says that Mauduit de Rame was afterward slain by Foucon.

The Saracens decide to send the prisoners taken in the battle to the tower of Baudor, which is the prison of the emir. They are intrusted to Morgant, the Saracen admiral, and are taken away in a ship.

Vers tour Baudor ce ont lor vole tournée.

Girart and Foucon set out from Florinville in a galley preceding the French fleet of seven hundred ships. They fall in with Morgant's ship, which is carrying away Guichart and "les .ii. filz Buevon." Girart and Foucon tell Morgant that they are Saracen merchants. The Saracens tell them:

Ce est la nés Morgant:
Outre la mer passons Guischart l'enfant
Et les deux fils Bovon le combattant.²⁰

¹⁹ Tarbé, l. 288, p. 13.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 16.

Foucon, Girart, and their companions board Morgant's ship and clear it of Saracens; but during the confusion, Morgant has escaped in a skiff with the prisoners.

At dawn next day Morgant meets the French fleet. The ships of Bertran and Morgant collide, and Bertran converses with Guichart.

Bertran says:

Sire Guischart, soef vait hom qui nage.

Bertran now frees the prisoners.

Meanwhile Foucon and Girart have reached Orange. Guillaume meets them and speaks of Guichart, Girart and Guielin, who are captured at Aliscans. Foucon makes a fine showing in battle at Orange.

Guichart, on reaching Orange, refers to the battle, whence Guillaume fled and where he himself was captured and his brother killed. But he adds that the damage received in "li Archans" will now be avenged.

Guillaume sees the Christians on the shore, thinks them Saracens, and prays that God may send him "Bertran le palazin." Guiborc reminds him of his lineage: of his father Aimeri, who was once besieged at Narbonne; of his brother, Aïmer le Chétif, who warred in Spain, and of his nephew Vivien. Foucon tells Guillaume that these men whom he sees on the shore are Girart, Bertran, and Guillaume's brothers, Boeve and Ernaut. Bertran is the son of Bernard, and nephew of Boeve. Foucon reminds Guillaume of Vivien,

Que nous a mort Tiebaus d'Esclavonie.

The Saracens recognize Bertran by the standard which he once took from them "a Baudart en la tour." Tibaut weeps for the damage done him at that tower.

Later Renier of Termes, son of the sister of Gautier, who carries the standard of king Desier the Lombard, is mentioned.

In a combat with Foucon, Tibaut is wounded in the face.²¹

Anfélise, sister of Tibaut, meets Boeve on the shore and asks his name. He tells her it is "Bovon de Commarcis," and adds:

Mon père fu, ce dient, Aimeris.
VII frères fumes: n'en y a que troi vis:
Je, et Guillaume, et Bernart le marchis²²

Anfélise speaks of a young French knight in whom she is interested. Boeve tells her it is Foucon, "Niés Vivien."²³

She finds Tibaut lying in his tent, badly wounded in the face. Tibaut tells Anfélise that he returns to her the city of Candie, which he had captured after a seven year siege.

The French are victorious before Orange.

Anfélise now departs for Candie, where she establishes herself as ruler. A messenger comes to Orange by night and reports to the French the plot of Anfélise to marry Foucon and deliver the city of Candie into the hands of the French. Thereupon Foucon leaves for Candie, together with Bertran, Guichart, Girart, and Gui. Guillaume and his two brothers, Bernard and Boeve remain at Orange. The French are admitted to Candie. Anfélise is baptized and marries Foucon.

At the banquet which follows, Guichart makes a vow to Anfélise:

Ma Damoiselle, tenez moi et m'espée:
Par tel covent me soit recommandée,
Si je ja fui de bataille nommée,
Qu'à cort ne soit ma raison escoutée!
Vers los frans homes soit ma honte doubtee.²⁴

²¹ Tarbé, p. 29; MS. 778, fol. 190, ro., a; MS. Notre Dame, fol. 57, vo.

²² Tarbé, p. 29, l. 785.

²³ Ibid, p. 30, ll. 797, 798.

²⁴ Ibid, p. 47, l. 1325.

Although Bertran reproves him for making so rash a vow, he repeats it.

Meanwhile the fighting continues at Orange. The Saracens recognize

l'enseigne Josué,
Que Bertrans prist aus pors de Balesgué,
En la bataille ou occist Codroé.²⁵

A Saracen spy reports to Tibaut the marriage of Anfélise to Foucon, who Deramé says, is "Niez Vivien, et de sa seror nez." Deramé advises to proceed "aus pors de Balesguez," where Guillaume will be troubled by them. Accordingly the Saracens leave Orange and proceed to Candie.

Bertran now proposes that they send, asking Guillaume and Bernard to secure aid from Louis. Reproached by Guichart, he says:

Mes par la foy que j'ai Guiborc portée,
La fame du monde que je ai plus amée.²⁶

It is said that:

Onc tiex linages n'issi (ja) de Lombart
Que li sept frere qui furent d'Ermengart.²⁷

Never was there a coward among them.

Pristent par force Orenge et Porpaillart
Et Barcelone et la tour de Baudart.²⁸

Next day Anfélise, watching from a tower a battle, says of Foucon:

C'est le meillor de la geste au Lombart
Fors seul Guillaume qui conquist Portpaillart.²⁹

²⁵ MS. Brit. Mus., fol. 275, ro., 1st col.

²⁶ Ibid, fol. 277, ro.

²⁷ Ibid, fol. 277, vo., 1st col.

²⁸ Ibid, fol. 277, vo.

²⁹ Ibid, fol. 279, 2d. col.

On the following day, Tibaut says in a council before his tent, speaking of the French:

Fait m'ont Orenge et Portpaillart lessier,
En Barcelone ont mise ma moullier.³⁰

In a council of the Christian leaders, Guichart says:

Sire, ja fu nostre aves Aymeris
Se fu mes freres Vivien li marchis
Et fu nostre oncles Aymer li chetis
.....
En ceste terre les ont paien occis.³¹

The Christians at Candie decide to send a letter to Guillaume. The chosen messengers are Girart de Danemarche and Salatr . They go by boat to Orange. Guiborc inquires of them:

Que fait Bertrans? Por ce l'ai demand ,
C'est cil de tous que je ai plus am ,
Fors seul Guillaume ———.³²

Guiborc refers to her having knighted Guichart.

Guillaume says that he will go to see king Louis, whom he had crowned.

Boeve remains at Orange. Guillaume and Bernard go to Paris. The king receives Guillaume kindly, but Guillaume at once demands a return for his services in crowning the king. Louis asks if he has come into France to trouble him. He says that Guillaume has greatly enfeebled the country by leading away its men into Spain, whence they never return. Guillaume becomes angry, puts his hand on his sword, but restrains himself upon thinking of his father. Ooes, comte d'Ammois, and Droon de Normandie plead for Guillaume and remind the king how Guillaume has carried the royal standard for fifteen years.

³⁰ MS. Brit. Mus., fol. 279, vo., 2d col.

³¹ Ibid, fol. 279, vo., 3d. col.

³² Ibid, fol. 280, vo.

Louis asks what Guillaume wishes, and Guillaume recounts the situation of Bertran at Candie. Thereupon the king agrees to aid.

Upon hearing of the king's acquiescence, the queen is angry. She says that Guillaume has wasted France and that, if she had been in the hall, aid would not have been granted. Yet she admits that Guillaume has served the king well and that through him she became queen. Manuscript 25518 says that the queen was at Aix when she heard the news:

Et la reine en iere à Aiz alée.³³

In an interesting speech to the king, Guillaume says:

Louis, sire, je vous tieng a seignor,
Doné m'avez grant paine et rich honor,
Perdus en ai les filz de ma serour,
De ma mesnie le barnage et la flor.³⁴

Manuscript 25518 has here:

Perdu lo fil de ma seror.³⁵

At the beginning of what Tarbé calls "La Quatrième Chanson" of *Foucon*, it is stated again that "Herbert le Duc En fist cest vers."

Guillaume has the queen summoned to Paris.

The great army of Louis has now assembled and is on the march to the south.

The army reaches Orange.

Et Loéys chevauche et sa barnés,
Vint a Orenes; ne s'i est arestés.
Baisa Guibourc: outre s'en est passés
Tant chevaucha qu'au matin vint esprés
Sor l'aigue d'Ebre, dont large est li guéz.³⁶

³³ MS. Brit. Mus., fol. 89, vo.

³⁴ Ibid, fol. 284, vo.

³⁵ Ibid, fol. 107, ro.

³⁶ Tarbé, p. 57, l. 1615.

The following lines give the location of the Saracens:

Une rien sache Tiébaut et Desramés,
Que lii lieus est près d'elx ostelés.

The leaders of the various divisions of the French army are here named. In line 1690 of Tarbé, Guillaume speaks of

Nalmer, mon cousin le Lombart.³⁷

In a personal encounter, Tibaut is badly wounded by Foucon, which causes great sorrow to the Saracens. He is laid in the "chambre as Dormans," in which magic room any good warrior will recover from his wounds. He thinks of the Narbonnais,

Dont Aimeris fu sire, ci est voir.
Ou qu'il fu mors, j'en connois bien les oirs.³⁸

He laments about Orable, "mauvese fame,"

Vous me tosistes Orenge as murs voutiz,
Enz acquillistes Guillaume et ses norriz,
Malement m'a de mes filz departiz,
prist en les testes sus un perron marsiz.³⁹

Duke Naimés of Bavaria is one of the Christian leaders at Candie.

After the recovery of Tibaut, he again takes part in the battles at Candie. He is again struck down by Foucon and made prisoner. Tibaut is later allowed to escape by Renier, who was detailed to guard him, because Renier had been knighted by Tibaut at Orange and had agreed to serve him for one year. Because of this, Renier is slain by Baudin in a duel.⁴⁰

³⁷ Tarbé, p. 60.

³⁸ Ibid, p. 67.

³⁹ MS. 774, Bib. Nat., fol. 129, vo.

⁴⁰ Ibid, fol. 131, vo. and 132.

The Saracens are defeated and withdraw to Arrabloi.

There are several references to the three sons of Aimeri, for example:

A son tref sunt alé li trois fil Aimer⁴¹

and

Le vallet vout veoir li .III. fils Aymeri.⁴²

Louis calls a council, with the object of concluding peace. Tibaut declares in the council that he must reflect on this subject and must consult with his uncle, Deramé. Here, in an interesting passage, he says:

XL ans a bien, l'ai fait embreuer,
Que ceste guerre commença à meller,
Qu'il me tollirent les pors de Balesguer,
Et Barzelone et Porpaillart sor mer,
Et Gloriette mon palais principer.
Mais Tortelouse lor fis je comparer:
De Vivien, ainsi l'oï ge nommer,
Lor fis damage: ne l' porent restorer.⁴³

Tibaut requires, as the conditions of peace, that all his former territories be forthwith restored to him; otherwise he will overthrow the towers of the French and will be crowned in Orange. The parley breaks up without result.

It is now said of Tibaut:

Molt menace Guillaume, le conte poignéor,
Et dit quil li a mort le fil de sa sêror.⁴⁴

In the battles at Arrabloi which follow, Bertran bears the oriflamme and plays a conspicuous rôle. He is reported to be the largest of the Franks and the flower of them all. It is said that he was knighted at the Long Siege of Orange.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Tarbé, p. 77.

⁴² Ibid, p. 82.

⁴³ Ibid, p. 83.

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 86.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 107, ll. 3014, 3015.

The Normans are frequently mentioned and seem to form a large part of the French army.

Bien sont XI. M. que Normant que François.⁴⁶

On page 112 of Tarbé, the king of Balesguez is said to be Isorez.

Deramé, king of Cordes, is badly wounded by Guichart, but is rescued by Tibaut. It is stated that he will recover.⁴⁷

Guichart is said to be the son of Garin.⁴⁸

L'autre à Guichart, fils Guerin Almanois.

Tibaut is decisively defeated and retires into Arrabloi disconsolate.

As a sequel to a series of love affairs, three Saracen princesses are brought into the French camp, where they receive baptism and are married to three of the Christian leaders. Le Povre-Véu, son of Guyon, marries Ganite of Persia; Bertran marries Ayglentine, who claims the territory of Russia; and Guichart marries Amanevie of Palerne.

Guillaume expresses a wish to enter

la terre d'Espagne:

Et chalengier Tiébaut terre certaine⁴⁹

The war continues. The French are victorious and capture the chateau d'Arrabloi.

Déliverée est Espagne.⁵⁰

Foucon is at Arrabloi:

⁴⁶ Tarbé, p. 109.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 115, ll. 3256-3276.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 117.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 137.

⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 140.

Par lui fu mort en estor Desraméz,
 Le roi Tiebaut en sa prison retéz;
 Avant orrez com il fu delivrez,
 N'avilla mie par lui ses parentéz.⁵¹

Tibaut and Deramé were both at the battle of Arrabloi. King Louis, in recounting what has been accomplished, says:

Païen sont desconfit et Desramés ocis.⁵²

After the conclusion of peace, there is an allusion to "Tibaut et son oncle," Deramé evidently being alive.

King Louis crowns Foucon king of Spain and Aragon, and makes a covenant with him that, if Foucon is ever in need, Louis will aid him.⁵³

Louis declares that he has not seen France for a year.⁵⁴ He is exceedingly anxious to return thither. Accordingly he leaves for France, accompanied by Drués d'Aminois; the duke of Normandie; Baudin, count of Flanders; and all the older men of the army. It is said of Louis that,

Pour les hoirs Aymeri a souffert mainte poine.

Louis himself asserts that the Narbonnais do not leave him in peace "ne mois ne quarantaine."

When Louis has been several days on the way, he is recalled to Arrabloi by Bernard de Braibant, to resist Tibaut, who has raised a fresh army. The king again recounts what he has done and suffered for Guillaume. He has freed the donjon of Orange⁵⁵ and defeated Tibaut upon the field of battle. If af-

⁵¹ MS. Bib. Nat., 774, fol. 127.

⁵² Ibid, fol. 134.

⁵³ Tarbé, p. 141, ll. 4076-4082.

⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 141, ll. 4094, 4095.

⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 145.

fairs continue as at present, the son of Charlemagne will never have repose.

Messengers are sent to invite Tibaut to a parley near the seacoast. He is at Nondinois with one hundred thousand men.

At the beginning of what Tarbé designates as the "Sixième Chanson" of Foucon, Herbert le Duc states that he found in the abbey at Clugni a very ancient book of history, in which he read of the king of France and Guillaume and Tibaut.

Tibaut's new army has been assembled in four months. It seems⁵⁶ that the war against him will never be concluded.

There follows here a long and highly complimentary description of Tibaut as a redoubtable warrior and chivalrous hero.

Tibaut comes to the parley, as invited. He asserts that Louis has assailed him "bien a passé XII ans."⁵⁷ Tibaut refers in the same connection to "Oliviers et Roullans."⁵⁸

Louis proposes to Tibaut that the French shall aid him in the conquest of Babylon, in consideration of which Tibaut shall relinquish all claim to Spain. Tibaut accepts this proposition and peace is concluded.

The rest of *Foucon de Candie* is occupied by the voyage of the two armies to the Orient, the campaign at Babylon, the capture of that city, the flight of the emir of Babylon to Cordes, the coronation of Tibaut at Babylon, and the return of the French to their own territories.

⁵⁶ Tarbé, p. 150, ll. 4365, 4366.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 153, l. 4435.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 153, l. 4437.

Notes on Foucon de Candie.

The remarkable passage at the beginning of the Boulogne manuscript of *Foucon*,⁵⁹ which recounts the return of Deramé to Spain, after an absence of thirty-two years in a distant land, where he had been carried by the bird Alerion, and during which time he had been considered dead, seems to be an unusually elaborate effort to account for Deramé being alive and taking part in the poem. The reasons for such a careful explanation on the part of the remanieur are the following. The Boulogne version of *Foucon* is in a large cyclic manuscript, in which it follows *Aliscans*, *La Bataille Loquifer*, and the *Moniage Renouart*. Now since Deramé is slain in the *Bataille Loquifer*,⁶⁰ according to certain manuscripts, the episode of his resuscitation in the *passage de remplissage* referred to is explainable. The episode of the bird (called in the correct form alecion) appears in the *Bataille Loquifer*.⁶¹ The body of Deramé is placed on Guillaume's horse and brought to the camp of the Christians. They lay the supposed corpse on the ground. Later an "alecion" seizes it and bears it away. Thus the passage which links *Foucon* to the poem which precedes it in the cyclic manuscript of Boulogne recapitulates the above events, in order to make the transition smoother. It may be supposed that Deramé was slain

⁵⁹ I am indebted to Professor Raymond Weeks for the use of his very valuable and significant extracts from the principal manuscripts of *Foucon*.

⁶⁰ See W. Cloetta: *Die beiden altfranzösischen Epen vom Moniage Guillaume*. Archiv für das Studium der Neuern Sprachen, XCIII. 1894, p. 437; J. Weisse: *Die Quellen des altfranzösischen Prosaromans von Guillaume d'Orange*, Halle, 1898, p. 71. J. Runeberg, *Etudes sur la Geste Rainouart*, Helsingfors, 1905, p. 16, note 1, says that Deramé's life is spared in the Arsenal-Boulogne family of manuscripts of the *Bataille Loquifer*.

⁶¹ J. Runeberg: *Etudes*, etc., pp. 45, 46.

originally in the *Bataille Loquifer* and that later a means was devised to utilize him further.

In *Foucon*, the mother of Vivien is a sister of Guillaume, agreeing thus with the *Willame* in the most primitive version of Vivien's parentage. It does not mention Boeve as his father, but everywhere as an own brother of Guillaume. Garin is said to be the father of Vivien, in another part of the story. Herbert le Duc probably found this tradition in one or more of his sources and, by using it, has caused this inconsistency.

In a *laisse* which explains the relationships of the heroes⁶² it is stated that Girart and Gui were sons of Boeve. Guichart and Vivien were brothers; they were cousins of Girart and Gui. Vivien was slain at Aliscans; Bertran, Girart, Gui, and many other barons were taken prisoners by the pagans, but will be delivered by Renoart. This is a passage of *remplissage*, taken largely from *Aliscans*, and forms no part of the real action of *Foucon*. This fact accounts for its inconsistencies with the rest of *Foucon*. Such are the imprisonment of Bertran and the liberation of the prisoners by Renoart, instead of by Bertran himself. This is the only mention of Renoart in *Foucon de Candie*. His entire absence from the action of this *chanson* is significant.

A strange situation is revealed in the manuscript of Boulogne, in the following lines:

Car plus a or Guiborc en sa baillie
Qu'il nen a dusqu'as pors de Hongrie;
A Bargelune estoit sa tresorie,
Et a Orange Tibaut d'Esclavonie;
Tot l'ot Guibort en la sole baillie.⁶³

This passage seems to represent Guiborc established at Barcelona at the same time that Tibaut was at Orange. This con-

⁶² MS. of Boulogne, fol. 207, vo.

⁶³ Fol. 211, ro., b.

nection of Guiborc with Barcelona strengthens the tradition, in A of the *Willame*, that both Guillaume and Guiborc were at Barcelona.

The manuscript of Boulogne gives considerable material before reaching the point at which the edition of Tarbé begins.

At this point, which seems to be the real commencement of the chanson of *Foucon de Candie*, occurs the statement that the poem was written by Herbert le Duc à Danmartin. This is generally considered authentic, and to Herbert is commonly given the credit of being the author of *Foucon*.

The statement in Tarbé, line 5, that Guillaume in his flight from the battlefield, left dead behind him not only Vivien but also one named Garin has caused considerable discussion.⁶⁴ It does not seem that this can be taken as an indication that the Garin who was said to be Vivien's father was present in the battle of the Archamp. He is not mentioned here in the manuscript of Boulogne. The manuscript of Venice has the acceptable line:

An laxa morto Vivian fiz Garin.

The mountainous country of Garaisse⁶⁵ through which Guillaume passes in his flight from the battlefield would seem to be the barren and precipitous heights near the coast of Catalonia, eighteen miles south of Barcelona, called to-day the Costa de Garraf. Their ancient Latin name, evidently in memory of the expedition of Hannibal, was Scolae Amabolis.

In *Foucon*⁶⁶ the word Aliscans is used to designate the battlefield whence Guillaume fled. On the other hand, the name

⁶⁴ Cf. Cloetta: *Die Enfances Vivien*, pp. 81-84; Becker: *Die Altfranzösische Wilhelmsage*, pp. 43-46, 50; R. Weeks: *Romania*, XXVIII. 452.

⁶⁵ MS. Bibl. Nat. 25518: "Garasché"

⁶⁶ Tarbé, p. 12.

Aliscans occurs nowhere in the *Willame*, but the battlefield is everywhere designated in that poem as the Archamp. And as the *Willame A*, is undoubtedly older than *Foucon*, the natural conclusion is that the name Aliscans is a later substitute for Archamp. The two words came to be used interchangeably and synonymously, with great indefiniteness and confusion as to the exact place indicated. The origin of the name Aliscans as applied to the battle was probably the ancient cemetery of that name at Arles.

Guillaume's lament for his nephews, Girart, Guichart, and Gui, who have been captured, places this element later than A in the *Willame*.

Tibaut of Arabia, who pursues Guillaume clear to Orange, is called here "roi de Cordes," probably in confusion with Derramé. The special reason for his inveterate hostility to Guillaume is that the latter has captured his former capital, Orange, and has married his wife, Orable, who has received, with Christian baptism, the name Guiborc. He is everywhere represented as a noble and chivalrous warrior, a foeman worthy of Guillaume's steel. No amount of reverses and discouragement can assuage his perennial thirst for vengeance. His persistent efforts to regain his lost consort may well be compared to those of Menelaus to recapture Helen.

The fact that Tibaut is living throughout the chanson of *Foucon de Candie* shows that, as far as this point is concerned, *Foucon* is later than the *Willame A*. In the *Willame A*, Tibaut is reported to have been killed before the action of that poem began, and consequently before the action of *Foucon*. In *Foucon* he is resurrected and becomes the principal enemy of Guillaume.

One point of divergence between C of the *Willame* and *Foucon* lies in Guillaume's entry into Orange after his flight from the battlefield. It has been seen in the *Willame* what difficulty

he has in proving to Guiborc his identity, before she would admit him to the city. In *Foucon*, however, he is admitted without parley. The principal reason for Guiborc's hesitancy in the *Willame* is that Guillaume is riding a strange horse and wears Saracen armor; in *Foucon*, however, there seems to be no question as to his identity.

It is to be noticed that in *Foucon* Boeve is living, whereas in the *Willame* he seems to be represented as dead.

Certain confirmations of the *Willame* may be found in the several valuable passages in which Guillaume gives voice to the following lamentations:

Las! mes linagnes est a declin tornéz;
Mors est mes nies Vivien l'aloséz,
Mes chiers amis q'ert de ma seror néz,
Et Guichars pris, un nouviaux adoubéz,
Qui ja ne fust d'armes mauves claméz
Qui apres moi tenist mes heritéz." 67

The second line above places the whole action of *Foucon* after the death of Vivien. The third line confirms the teaching of the *Willame* A, that Vivien was son of a sister of Guillaume. And the fourth and fifth lines confirm the *Willame* B, in regard to the knighting of Gui (here called Guischars) and his being the heir of Guillaume.

"Gerars——de Danemarche," the messenger sent from Orange, is evidently a person entirely distinct from his namesake, the nephew of Guillaume. The latter is at the time in question a prisoner on a Saracen ship. Guiborc's assertion that she had once saved Girart of Denmark when he had been condemned to death refers to an incident which has been lost from the French epics.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ MS. Brit. Mus., Bib. Reg., 20D, XI. fol. 262, ro. Cf. MS. 25518 of the Bib. Nat., fol. 6, vo.

⁶⁸ MS. Brit. Mus. 20D, XI. Bib. Reg., fol. 262, ro.

When Hugues asks Girart the question: "Que fet Guillaume qui fu nies au Lombart,"⁶⁹ he evidently refers to Guillaume's Lombard descent through his mother, Ermengart, daughter of King Didier, or Désier (Latin, Desiderius), of Lombardy. A lady of this name is said, by some of the chroniclers, to have been the wife of Charlemagne.⁷⁰

The location of Portpaillart, mentioned in line 401 of the manuscript of the British Museum, has never been satisfactorily determined, although it appears frequently in the chansons of the cycle. It is often said to be on the seacoast and was evidently an important city of Guillaume. One cannot be sure, however, that it was originally on the coast. Suchier proposes as an identification of Portpaillart, *Pagus Palliarensis*.⁷¹ This place is frequently mentioned by the geographers.⁷²

The geographical name Damart (or Danart) which occurs only two or three times in *Foucon*,⁷³ is interesting as giving seemingly another name for the battlefield of the Archamp. It is to be noticed in connection with the line just referred to that the Archamp is frequently described as a valley.

The sons of Boeve, according to *Foucon*, are Girart and Gui. Boeve is not here the father of Vivien. Indeed the *Willame* is the only source in which Vivien is the son of Boeve.

⁶⁹ Loc. cit.

⁷⁰ See Pertz: *Monumenta Germanae Historica*, XXIII. 712, 715; *Annales Benedictini*, Liber XXIV, anno 770, II. 219, Paris 1704. Langlois says, in his *Table des Noms propres*: "L'histoire ne connaît pas au roi Didier de fille du nom de Hermengart." It is said, however, that Charlemagne married, and later rejected, a daughter of king Desiderius.

⁷¹ *Romania*, XXVI. 33.

⁷² Cf. Petrus de Marca: *Marca Hispanica*, Paris, 1688: pp. 208, 253, 425, 769, 908, 944, 993, etc.

⁷³ For example in line 403 of the MS. of the Brit. Mus.: "enz el val de Damart"; Tarbé, p. 4: "Combattu sont en la val de Damart"; and Tarbé, p. 24: "un roi de Damart."

The following line which refers to Guillaume: "De Barzelone quant il issit sousiez,"⁷⁴ is a confirmation of A in the *Willame*, which states distinctly that it was from Barcelona that Guillaume started to relieve Vivien, who was in the Archamp.

There are some passages which seem to connect Bertran with Normandy. The following lines:

Li quens envoie descî en Normendie
Aus chevaliers qui d'avoir ont envîe⁷⁵

suggest that Bertran had authority in Normandy and was perhaps himself a Norman. In the *Willame*, line 673, Bertran has the standard of the Normans.

When Girart, the messenger, tells Boeve that the latter's two sons have been taken prisoners, Boeve asks who has led them away. In the manuscript of the British Museum, Girart replies:

En non Dieu, sire, Thiebaut et Desraméz.⁷⁶

According to manuscript 25518 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, his reply is this:

Cil de Berri qui tant par est provéz
De coardie, honiz et vergondéz
James a cort ne doit estre mandéz.

The reference in the latter passage is plainly to Tedbald of Berri, and the characterization of him corresponds perfectly with that in A in the *Willame*. According to the *Willame* A, Vivien accompanied Tedbald into Spain. Here in *Foucon* it seems to be conceived that Tedbald was also the cause that the sons of Boeve (here other than Vivien) went to Spain. He appears to have been under a cloud, for having gotten these young men into

⁷⁴ Tarbé, p. 6.

⁷⁵ MS. Bib. Nat. 25518, fol. 262, vo., b.

⁷⁶ Ibid, fol. 262, vo.

trouble. Whether originally a relative or only a friend, Tedbald de Berri is everywhere represented as an undesirable factor in the affairs of the Narbonnais. With regard to the other reading, which gives Tibaut and Deramé, instead of Tedbald, it may be said that these names fit well with the facts in the case. Here Girart has said of the sons of Boeve:

En ont paien en la mer esquipéz.

Boeve's question might easily refer to those who had thus taken his sons prisoners and made off with them upon the sea.

Mauduit de Rame seems in *Foucon* to be another person than Deramé. On page 13 of Tarbé, Mauduit is said to have been killed by Foucon.⁷⁷

A contradiction between *Foucon* and the *Willame* is found in the fact that the nephews of Guillaume who are held prisoners by the Saracens are evidently with the Saracen army at Orange, when the Saracen council decides to send them to the tower of Baudor. In the *Willame*, on the other hand, they are nowhere represented as being prisoners at Orange.

It is stated that after Morgant has set sail with these captives:

Vers tour Baudor ce(s) ont lor voie tournée.

The similarity in the names suggests the tower of Baudart, where Bertran is said to have captured a Saracen flag.⁷⁸

The declaration that Tibaut was brought to death through Anfélise:

Por qui Tiébaut fu à la mort aquis,
Et prise Espagne etc.⁷⁹

is not supported by the narration in *Foucon*, at the end of which Tibaut is living.

⁷⁷ Cf. MS. 774, Bib. Nat., fol. 121, vo.

⁷⁸ Cf. MS. 25518, Bib. Nat., fol. 269, 2nd col.

⁷⁹ Tarbé, p. 13.

When Bertran says to Guichart, then a prisoner on Morgant's ship: "Sire Guischart, soef vait hom qui nage," he seems to express a fondness for navigation, which is quite in harmony with his appellation "Bertran le Timonier" and with his experience of the sea indicated in R of the *Willame*, lines 3056, 3057, and 3066.

By a comparison of the lists of prisoners, it appears that Guion and Girart are the same individual.

It is specially to be noted that in *Foucon* the number of Christian prisoners is three, which fact at once places the tradition of this poem with reference to these captives distinctly anterior to that of B in the *Willame*, where they are five in number.⁸⁰ This passage in the *Willame* may be considered a later insertion, however, and one which should not be too much emphasized in determining the relative period of the composition of B as a whole.

Guichart, upon reaching Orange, after being liberated from captivity on Morgant's ship, says to Guiborc:

Gentis royne, de vos me prent pitiez,
De vos parti moult bien appareilléz
De Bertelouse quant gi fui envoiéz.⁸¹

These lines seem like a confirmation of A in the *Willame*, according to which Guiborc was at Barcelona.⁸²

The tradition of *Foucon* seems to be that the slayer of Vivien was Tibaut. *Foucon* reminds Guillaume of Vivien,

Que nos a mort Tiebaus d'Esclavonie.⁸³

In the *Foucon* of Stockholm, Tibaut says of Vivien:

Veiant mes oilz li fis lo chief colper.

⁸⁰ ll. 1720-1725.

⁸¹ MS. Brit. Mus., fol. 267, vo.

⁸² MS. 25518, fol. 36, ro., has here, however, "A Barcelone."

⁸³ MS. 25518, fol. 77, vo.

It is said of the sons of Boeve:

Li doi sont frere qui furent fil Buevon
De Comarchis, de la gent auberon.⁸⁴

The expression "auberon" might possibly refer to Oberon, king of the fairies, and a connection be made between this passage and the diminutive size and extraordinary powers of Gui, in B of the *Willame*. There is little, however, to justify such a connection.

With reference to Tibaut being wounded in the face by Foucon, a comparison may be made as below.⁸⁵

The question of the number of Aimeri's sons surviving in the chanson of *Foucon* would seem to be definitely decided by the reply of Boeve to Anfélise, when she inquires his name:

Ma demoisele, Bovon de Commarcis
M'apele l'on en France, à saint Denis.
Mon père fu, ce dient, Aimeris.
VII frères fumes: n'en y a que troi vis:
Je, et Guillaume, et Bernart le marchis.⁸⁶

In the manuscript of the British Museum, however, and in the manuscripts of Stockholm, Ernaut is also indicated as present, which supports the account in the *Nerbonesi*.

The expression, "Mon père fu——Aimeris," in the above passage indicates that Aimeri is dead.

The vow of Guichart, made at Candie to Anfélise, after her marriage to Foucon, that he will never flee in battle⁸⁷ reminds one strongly of the vow of Vivien and suggests a similarity in the characters of these two brothers. This vow of

⁸⁴ MS. Brit. Mus., fol. 269. MS. 25518, Bibliothèque Nat. has here "au baron," which we consider the better reading.

⁸⁵ Cf. MS. 778, fol. 190, ro. a; Cf. *Nerbonesi*, II. 291.

⁸⁶ Tarbé, p. 29.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 47

Guichart is undoubtedly copied after that of Vivien, and the opposition of Bertran is perhaps copied after that of Guillaume.

The statement that the Saracens recognize

l'enseigne Josué
Que Bertrans prist aus pors de Balesgué
En la bataille ou occist Codroé 88

perhaps refers to the same standard that was captured by Bertran at the tower of Baudart.⁸⁹

The "pors de Balasgué," or Balaguer, sometimes "tors de—," which are often mentioned, probably refer to the passes in a chain of barren hills to the west of the town of Hospitalet in Catalonia. They are near the coast and twenty miles south of Tarragona. Upon these hills may be seen from the railroad to-day an ancient tower called the "Castillo de Balaguer." As much of the ancient and mediaeval Moorish architecture still remains in Spain, possibly this castle may date back to the time of the wars between Moors and Christians celebrated in the chansons de geste.

The special fondness of Bertran for Guiborc is clearly indicated where he says to Guichart:

Mes par la foy que j'ai Guiborc portée,
La fame du monde que je ai plus amée.⁹⁰

Guiborc's regard for Bertran is indicated by the passage in which she asks the messengers from Candie:

Que fait Bertrans? Por ce l'ai demandé,
C'est cil de tous que je ai plus amé
Fors seul Guillaume.⁹¹

88 MS. Brit. Mus., fol. 275, ro.

89 Cf. Ibid, fol. 269, ro.

90 Ibid, fol. 277, ro.

91 Ibid, fol. 280, vo

Another confirmation of the idea, expressed in the *Willame A*, that Guiborc was at Barcelona is found in Tibaut's speech in a Saracen council, where he says of the French:

Fait m'ont Orenge et Portpaillart lessier,
En Barcelone out mise ma moullier.⁹²

Guichart says in a council of the Christians:

Sire, ja fu nostre aves Aymeris
Se fu mes freres Vivien li marchis
Et fu nostre oncles Aymer li chetis
.....
En cest terre les ont païen occis.⁹³

The natural inference from the above passage would be that not only Vivien but also Aïmer and Aimeri were slain by the Saracens in Spain. According to Léon Gautier, Aimeri was killed in a campaign against the Sagitaires.⁹⁴

In connection with the anger of the queen because the king has yielded to the demands of Guillaume, it is noteworthy that manuscript 25518 states that the queen was at Aix when she heard this news:

Et la reine en iere à Aiz alée.⁹⁵

So far as is known, this is the only passage in which the queen is said to be at Aix.⁹⁶ The attitude of the queen is here very similar to that in the *Willame C*. The chief difference in situation is that in *Foucon* she is absent from the court and consequently does not incur the wrath of Guillaume. This version in *Foucon* appears like the softening down of a scene

⁹² MS. Brit. Mus., fol. 279, vo.; MS. Bib. Nat., 778, fol. 206, vo.; MS. Bib. Nat., 774, fol. 118, ro.

⁹³ MS. Brit. Mus., fol. 279, vo.

⁹⁴ *Ep. Fr.*, Vol. IV.

⁹⁵ Fol. 89, vo.

⁹⁶ In MS. Bib. Nat., 774, fol. 121, vo., she is at Senlitz.

which in the *Willame* is both painful and repugnant. Herbert le Duc, who was evidently a refined and chivalrous man, would naturally have been repelled by the brutal coarseness of Guillaume's language to the queen and his threatening of her life, if he knew of such a tradition. By removing the queen from Paris at this critical juncture, he has avoided the traditional clash between her and Guillaume.

In connection with Guillaume being a son of Ermengart of Pavia, it is interesting that the army waits at Bourges several days for "Naymer de Pavie," a relative of Guillaume, who comes with twenty thousand men "de ceux de Lombardie."⁹⁷ Guillaume speaks of this warrior as "Naimer mon cousin le Lombart."⁹⁸ There are frequent references in *Foucon* to the lineage descended from Ermengart.

The passage which tells of the journey of Louis' army from Orange to the Ebro⁹⁹ is especially interesting in that it is probably the only place in the epics where this trip is so definitely given. The passage is as follows:

Et Loéys chevauche et sa barnés,
Vint à Orenge; ne s'i est arestés;
Balsa Guilbourc. outre s'en est passés
Tant chevaucha qu'au matin vint esprés
Sor l'aigue d'Ebre, dont large est li guez

If the expression "au matin" means the next morning after leaving Orange, which seems a natural interpretation, then the army has reached the Ebro in not more than one day and night. As the distance is over three hundred miles, such speed was manifestly impossible. Yet the passage may be valuable as indicating that statements in the Old French epics as to the time consumed in a journey are not always a trustworthy guide. One application of

⁹⁷ MS. Bib. Nat., 774, fol. 121, vo.

⁹⁸ Tarbé, p. 60.

⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 57.

this is that when the statement is made of a very speedy return home after a battle, it does not necessarily indicate that the battlefield was near, nor that the journey was short.¹⁰⁰ In these places it may easily be from Spain that the traveler comes. In general the trouvères were disinclined to describe journeys in detail, and their frequent ignorance of geography prevented them from describing them accurately. Sometimes, as in the *Couronnement de Louis*, the poet tells us that he does not know how to relate the days' journeys.

Further indications that in *Foucon* Aimeri is dead occur in a quotation from Tibaut, while he lies wounded in the magic chamber. He thinks of the Narbonnais,

Dont Aimeris fu sire: ci est voir.
Ou qu'il fu mors, j'en connois bien les oirs.¹⁰¹

The idea that only three of the sons of Aimeri are living is strengthened by the following lines:

A son tref sunt alé li trois fil Aimeri,¹⁰²

and

Le vallet vout veoir li .III. fils Aymeri.¹⁰³

When Tibaut declares to Louis, in a council:

Onze anz a bien, l'ai fait enbevrer
Et ceste guerre comença à mesler,¹⁰⁴

one is surprised at the duration of the war. The passage may be interpreted liberally, however, as indicating the long continued struggles between Christians and Saracens. Tarbé has here "quarante ans."

¹⁰⁰ Cf. the *Willame* lines 2211; 3346-3348.

¹⁰¹ Tarbé, p. 67.

¹⁰² Ibid, p. 77.

¹⁰³ Ibid, p. 82.

¹⁰⁴ MS. Bib. Nat., 25518, fol. 149, ro.

The capture of Barcelona by the French, to which Tibaut alludes, was historically accomplished by Louis the Pious and Guillaume de Toulouse about 802.

In this speech Tibaut claims that it was from him that the Christians captured also, "les pors de Balesguer," "Porpaillart sor mer," and the palace Gloriette.

The last lines of his speech:

Mais Tortelose lor fis je comparer
De Vivien, issi l'ot (l'oï) nommer,
Lor fis domache nel pirent (sic) testorer,¹⁰⁵

are especially valuable in that they place the death of Vivien near Tortosa, in Spain, and thus locate the battle of the Archamp. This location will be discussed in detail in dealing with *Le Storie Nerbonesi*, by Andrea da Barberino.

Soon after this it is said of Tibaut:

Molt menace Guillaume, le conte poigneor,
Et dit qu'il li a mort le fil de sa seror.¹⁰⁶

This is an important confirmation of the teaching of the *Willame* that Vivien was a son of Guillaume's sister.

The statement that Bertran carries the oriflamme in battle seems somewhat contradictory to the universal tradition expressed in the cycle that Guillaume was the official bearer of this famous standard. It is stated in *Foucon* that Guillaume has carried it for fifteen years. On the other hand, it is said of Bertran:

Il porte l'oriflambe en bataille tous tans.¹⁰⁷

Louis says to Bertran that this is his right.

Loëys en apele quens Bertran li courtois:
Vous porterez m'enseigne, amis; car c'est vo drois.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ MS. Bibl. Nat., 25518, fol. 149, ro.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, fol. 150, vo.

¹⁰⁷ Tarbé, p. 107.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, p. 109.

And later he actually carries the oriflamme:

Et porte lance où l'enseigne ventele:
C'est l'oriflambe que nos François chadele.¹⁰⁹

It is noticeable that in *Foucon* Bertran plays an especially large rôle. It is he who liberates the prisoners, instead of Renart, as in the *Willame R.* and *Aliscans*.

Bertran is said to be the flower of the Franks and the largest of them all.¹¹⁰ And that the Saracens generally so considered him is indicated by the line:

Li duc Bertran tienent tous au meillour.¹¹¹

He is also called duke on page III of Tarbé.

Ayglente, the sweetheart of Bertran, says that he was knighted at the Long Siege of Orange.¹¹²

The Normans are frequently mentioned in *Foucon*. The following line would seem to indicate that they formed a large part of the army:

Bien sont XI. M. que Normant que François.¹¹³

The statement that the king of Balesguez is named Isorez¹¹⁴ may be compared with the declaration in *Aliscans* that it was in conflict with this Saracen that Guillaume's nose was injured.¹¹⁵

Guichart is referred to as the son of Garin.

L'autre à Guichart, fis Guerin Almanois.¹¹⁶

This appears to be the first mention in *Foucon* of the father of Guichart, and consequently the father of Vivien; for it is

¹⁰⁹ Tarbé, p. 114.

¹¹⁰ Cf. *La Chevalerie Vivien*, MS. of Boulogne, fol. 83, ro. and vo.

¹¹¹ Tarbé, p. 116.

¹¹² Ibid, p. 107.

¹¹³ Ibid, p. 109.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, p. 112.

¹¹⁵ Line 4073.

¹¹⁶ Tarbé, p. 117.

stated that Guichart and Vivien were brothers.¹¹⁷ This agrees with the statement in the opening lines of the manuscript of Venice, which says of Guillaume, when he was fleeing from the battlefield:

An laxa morto Vivian, fiz Garin.

It is also the tradition of *Foucon* that Vivien was a son of a sister of Guillaume.¹¹⁸ By combining these ideas, it would seem that this sister is represented as having married Garin. Then Garin would not be an own brother of Guillaume, as he is represented in the later chansons of the cycle. Yet Garin is supposedly included among the seven sons of Ermengart mentioned by Boeve.¹¹⁹ Thus in regard to Garin, *Foucon* is inconsistent with itself, combining, as it does, older and more recent traditions.

It would seem from the expression "Guerin Almanoï" that Garin was originally supposed to be a German. In the later chansons he is regularly called Garin d'Anséune; but the location of Anséune is uncertain.

It should be noticed that by representing Garin as the father of Vivien, *Foucon* is in direct contradiction with the *Willame*, where Vivien's father is Boeve. First, Vivien is said (*Willame A*) to be a son of Boeve and of a sister of Guillaume. Later (*Willame C*, and *Foucon*) Boeve is an own brother of Guillaume. In *Foucon* Vivien is still a son of Guillaume's sister, but his father is Garin, and now Garin is already coming to be considered as Guillaume's own brother. It will be seen in later chansons that Garin is uniformly given as Vivien's father and as

¹¹⁷ MS. Brit. Mus., fol. 279; MS. 714, fol. 118.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Tarbé, p. 86; MS. Brit. Mus., Bib. Reg. 20D, XI. lines 313. 314.

¹¹⁹ Tarbé, p. 29.

a brother of Guillaume, and a woman from outside the family is given as Vivien's mother.*

The conception that Guillaume is old¹²⁰ tallies with the idea of his age in the *Willame*, and with the general conception of him, as expressed in the chansons, at the time of the battle of the Archamp.

In connection with the marriage of Foucon, Bertran and Guichart with Saracen women, it may be noted that nearly all the Christian heroes of the *geste de Guillaume* marry foreign wives.

When Guillaume says that he wishes to enter "la terre d'Espaine," "E chalengier Tiebaut terre certaine," it is noticeable that Guillaume is already in Spain, yet he wishes to go there. The explanation seems to be that Candie (in Valencia) was not then considered to be in Spain. It will be seen that, in treating the wars of Aimer le Chétif with the Saracens,¹²¹ Spain seems to be confined to the North-Central portion of modern Spain, including Navarre and northern Castile, but exclusive of Aragon and Catalonia on the east and Asturias and Galicia on the west. The line quoted above seems to refer to some geographical district and may be the same as that mentioned in another line:

Lors s'avance .i. Païen qui fu nez en Sartaïne.

These references are perhaps to Cerdagne in the Pyrenees.

There appears to be some inconsistency in *Foucon* in regard to the death of Deramé. It is said, speaking of Foucon, at Arrabloi:

Par lui fu mort en estor Desraméz,
Le roi Tiebaut en sa prison retéz;
Avant orrez com il fu delivréz,
N'avilla mie par lui ses parentéz.¹²²

* *Enfances Vivien*.

¹²⁰ Tarbé, p. 130.

¹²¹ *Le Storie Nerbonesi*, I.

¹²² MS. Bib. Nat., 774, fol. 127.

Yet at the close of *Foucon* "Tib. et son oncle," are mentioned, Deramé evidently being alive. It is stated that Foucon kills Mauduit,¹²³ but Mauduit seems to be conceived of here as another person than Deramé. Deramé was badly wounded by Guichart, some time before the battles at Arrabloi, but it was stated that he would recover,¹²⁴ and he afterward takes part in the battles at Arrabloi.¹²⁵ After the chateau is captured, Louis, in recounting what has been accomplished, says:

Païen sont desconfit et Desramés ocis.¹²⁶

When king Louis crowns Foucon king of Spain and Aragon,¹²⁷ it seems that in this chanson Foucon receives the heritage of Vivien, as does Renoart in the *Willame R*, and in *Aliscans*. The rôle of Renoart in freeing the prisoners is in *Foucon* taken by Bertran. It may be said in a general way that what in the *Willame* and *Aliscans* is accomplished by Renoart, is in *Foucon* achieved by Foucon and Bertran, except that in the two latter the grotesque and exaggerated features of Renoart do not appear.

At the commencement of what Tarbé calls "la Sixième Chanson" in *Foucon*, Herbert le Duc asserts that he found in the abbey at Clugni a very ancient book of history, in which he read of the king of France and Guillaume d'Orange and Tibaut. The opening lines seem like a fresh beginning:

Ce fu el mois de may que la rose est fleurie,
Que le rossignol chante, et li oriol crie;
Chanson ferai nouvele et de grant seignorie.

¹²³ MS. Bib. Nat., 774, fol. 121, vo.

¹²⁴ Tarbé, p. 115.

¹²⁵ MS. Bib. Nat., 774, fol. 134.

¹²⁶ Ibid, fol. 140, vo.

¹²⁷ Tarbé, p. 141, two references.

The fact that, in this portion of *Foucon*, Tibaut, after his defeat at Arrabloi, raises a new army of one hundred thousand men and is ready to renew the war, and later is diverted from Spain entirely by the unexpected campaign of Babylon, in which the French join and thus establish peace with Tibaut and secure Spain for themselves, certainly shows a new turn in events. Moreover the very elaborate and highly eulogistic description of Tibaut's character, which occupies the first part of this so-called sixth chanson, and the exaltation of him throughout, distinguishes the latter part of *Foucon* from what precedes. It could justly be designated a Song of Tibaut—a song of reconciliation and final glory.

■

LE STORIE NERBONESI

LE STORIE NERBONESI

INTRODUCTION

*Le Storie Nerbonesi*¹ is a long prose compilation in Italian, written by Andrea da Barberino, a Florentine music teacher, whose favorite study seems to have been *la matière de France*. He lived from 1370 till after 1431.

The *Nerbonesi* deal with practically all of the cycle of Guillaume and give events of the various chansons in supposedly chronological order. The work is divided into seven books and fills two large octavo volumes. That part of the story which has special reference to the *Willame* is included in books five and six and portions of book seven. The events related in these books correspond more or less to those of the following chansons: the *Enfances Vivien*, the *Chevalerie Vivien*, *Aliscans*,² and *Foucon de Candie*.

In dealing with Andrea's work, the ground is taken that he in the main faithfully and conscientiously rendered the French chansons which he had at his disposal. It is also believed that the versions which he gives are sometimes from older redactions than can be found to-day in the Old French. The *Nerbonesi*, in their comprehensive character, giving, as they do, the

¹ L. Gautier (*Épopées Françaises*) says that Isola's edition of the *Nerbonesi* is derived from the MSS. of Florence, Bibl. Nat. Classe VI. nos. 7, 8, 9, and Classe XXIV. no. 160; and the MS. de la Bibl. Laurentienne.

² L. Gautier (*Ép. Fr.*) thinks that Andrea used for his version of *Aliscans* the redaction of MS. fr. VIII of the Bibl. St. Marc. He adds that Andrea in his *Nerbonesi* "ne s'est pas douté un seul instant de l'importance d'*Aliscans* et lui a visiblement préféré *Foucon de Candie*. Rien ne prouve mieux la niaiserie de l'homme et la médiocrité de l'oeuvre."

events of practically all of the cycle of Guillaume, reveal the intense interest of their compiler in the chansons which were his sources. That he was a man of humane and noble feelings is evident from the style and sentiments of the *Nerboncsi*. If music was his vocation, his avocation was certainly the chansons of the *matière de France*. With such minute care and such whole-hearted interest did he devote himself to giving in Italian a connected and chronological version of the subject matter of the entire cycle of Guillaume, to making a literary unit out of the multiform, separate and doubtfully connected French epics, that we must consider that it was in him a veritable passion. This being the case, we conceive of him as collecting with the utmost zeal and diligence all of the manuscript chansons which he could procure. He undoubtedly had many in his private collection and visited other libraries to peruse such manuscripts as he could not secure. He must have been remarkably well informed on the cycle as a whole, as it existed in the French redactions of his own day. And it is only natural that various redactions were available to him in the fourteenth century which since have been changed in French or disappeared. It is a well known fact that redactions which have been carried into a foreign country do not change there with anything like the rapidity of those which undergo their natural development in the land of their origin. And so it sometimes happens that, when a manuscript is found in a foreign land, the version which it contains is much more primitive than anything which survives in the mother country. Notable examples of this are the Oxford manuscript of *Roland* and the Anglo-Norman manuscript of the *Chanson de Willame*. The work of Andrea da Barberino has probably been altered very little since his own time. Therefore it may be considered as giving on the whole a faithful notion of the cycle of Guillaume according to manuscripts available in the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Résumé of Portions of *Le Storie Nerbonesi*

VOLUME I

LIBRO PRIMO

Tibaut of Arabia passes into Spain and captures all of it.

Orange was held by Anibaldo di Rama, king of Aragon, and brother of the king of Barberia.

Anibaldo di Rama had a daughter named Orabile, who was famed throughout the world for her beauty.

Tibaut marries Orabile and receives Orange as her dowry.

Guillaume is the sixth son of Aimeri. Aïmer, when his father Aimeri was testing his sons in arms, spared him. For this, Aimeri pronounced a curse upon Aïmer, which was the cause of his appellation "Aïmer le Chétif," by which he is almost always called.

Charlemagne confirmed the curse upon Aïmer and refused to give him lands.

Bernard, with the help of Guillaume, captures the city of Busbante, of which he is made governor by Charlemagne. Charlemagne gives him in marriage his young daughter, Lisabetta. She was the mother of "Beltramo il Timonieri."

Boeve, aided by Bernard and Guillaume, becomes governor of Cormarisi (Commarcis).

Arnaldo (Ernaut) captures Girona in Spain.

Guerino (Garin) was defeated and imprisoned at Ansedonia (Anséune) by king Bravieri.

Great battle at Anséune. Garin is rescued by Guillaume, Bernard, Boeve, and Ernaut. Garin marries the daughter of Sbravieri.

Aïmer captures cities in north central Spain.

LIBRO SECONDO

The sons of Aimeri and Ermengard, his wife, are: Bernard, Boeve, Ernaut, Garin, Aïmer, Guillaume and Guibelin.

After the brilliant part taken by Aïmer in raising the siege of Narbonne, Aimeri asks his pardon for his former treatment of him.

Ugo de Fieravilla (Hugues de Florinville) marries Brunetta, daughter of Aimeri.

Charlemagne gives Tolosa to Brunetta as her dowry.

Charlemagne assembles his barons at Arles, having had a vision which foretold his death and commanded him to have mass sung at Arles for the souls of those who fell at Roncevaux, and who are buried at Arles. Charlemagne commends to the barons his son Louis, who is too young to reign, and asks them to elect a regent for seven years. At the end of this period the regent is to knight and crown Louis and to give him a wife.

Macario of Losaina wished to have the regency, but Charlemagne refused because Macario was of a hostile family.

All the other barons had declined the regency, when Guillaume arrived from wars with the Saracens in Spain.

Guillaume accepts the regency. Charlemagne gives him complete rule over France and wishes to crown him, but Guillaume, pleading unworthiness, receives the crown on his arm. Charlemagne asks Guillaume to give Louis, at the end of the regency, Guillaume's sister, Blanche-flor, to wife.

Charlemagne knights Guibelin and orders him to acquire Tolosa, "ttra' monti Pirinei."

Charlemagne dies, according to the vision, on June 29th, 827.

The barons swear allegiance in the hands of Guillaume and Louis.

LIBRO TERZO

Certain barons plot to drive the Narbonnais from rule at Paris. Bernard flees and takes Louis to Tolosa.

There follows a truce of three years with Tibaut.

Louis is crowned king of France. In honor of the coronation, a great tourney is held at Paris. Bertran and Vivien divide the honors. Vivien's silver trappings on this occasion are said to have given him the name "Viviano de l'Argiento," by which he is regularly called in the Nerbonesi. It is stated that he is the son of Garin, who is a brother of Guillaume. Vivien is knighted by Louis. Louis is then crowned. All the above is reported to Tibaut by a spy.

LIBRO QUARTO

Guillaume and Bertran capture Nîmes.

Guillaume visits Orable (Orabile) in Orange. Later Guillaume and Bertran capture Orange and are welcomed by Orable. Orable is baptized and Guillaume gives her the name Tiborga. Guillaume now marries her.

Andrea says that this fourth book is according to Ruberto di San Marino.

Tibaut, hearing of all this, arrives by sea and besieges Guillaume and Bertran in Orange. The siege of Orange lasts for seven years, at the end of which time the inhabitants suffer severely from famine.

Bertran goes to Paris on the remarkable steed *Serpentino* for aid. When leaving Orange, he is forced to turn back three times by the Saracens, for which he is reprimanded by Guiborc (Tiborga). He finally passes the enemy at night. After advising Guillaume's brothers of the distress at Orange, he proceeds to Paris.

Louis receives Bertran's request for aid indifferently; but the queen, Blancheflor, intercedes with tears for her brother Guillaume, and the king finally yields.

In the assembly of barons, Giulimieri di Maganza speaks against aiding Guillaume, and draws his sword on Bertran. Angered by this, Bertran kills him. And now, to escape vengeance, which was sworn against him, Bertran flees to Aïmer in Spain.

The army of Louis assembles at Pietrafitta.

Aïmer is carrying on war with the Saracens in Spain. He has taken with him Vivien, son of Garin. Aïmer gives Vivien ten thousand men for a foray into Portugal. Vivien captures the city of Galizia, but within a week he is besieged there by a large Saracen army. As the Saracens are without competent leaders, however, Vivien defeats them, killing forty thousand.

Vivien now builds a very strong castle on the highest hill overlooking Galizia. Andrea states that, in remembrance of his name, Viviano de l'Argiento, he put much silver in the foundations of the castle, and named it Monte Argiento. He continued for ten months to strengthen this castle and the city, in the hope of conquering the kingdom of Portugal. It is said that he swore never to abandon the castle till his death.

The native citizens send word to king "Iranse di Ramesse" in Barberia and also to Tibaut of Arabia, offering the kingdom of Portugal to him who should first assist them.

Isram (Iranse) first sent two of his sons with an army and with them came the formidable champion Maltribol of Africa. Tibaut also sends an army under his brother the Alpatris.

Galizia is now closely besieged by one hundred and fifty thousand Saracens. They make an incursion into the city but are driven out.

The siege lasts a year and provisions become scarce.

The Christians set fire by night to the city of Galizia and during the resulting confusion escape from the city. Vivien and

one thousand picked men now pass up into the castle of Monte Argiento. The remainder of the Christian forces, numbering seven thousand men, withdraw from Galizia and go to seek aid from Aïmer. Next morning the castle is besieged by the whole Saracen army.

On hearing of Vivien's situation, Aïmer sends word to his brothers. Garin, when he heard the news, said:

Sanza mia licenza v'andò, e male gliene avverrà.

Bernard, Boeve, and Ernaut would not go into Spain. The sons of Boeve—Guidone and Guicciardo—went; also Guiscardo, brother of Vivien, and Guidolino, son of Ernaut. It is said that Ernaut had also another son, then ten years of age, named Viviano della Ciera Grifagna.

Aïmer, accompanied by his nephews, and with an army, goes now to the relief of Vivien. A great battle is fought near the castle of Monte Argiento. Guichart swears not to turn back until he sees Vivien his brother. He fights his way up the mountain and is brought into the castle by Vivien. Aïmer gets the worse of the battle and retreats through Asturia and Galicia into Spain.

Aïmer again sends word to all his family. Garin curses Spain and Portugal and also Aïmer, for having taken Vivien into Spain.

Vivien and Guichart are besieged at Monte Argiento for four years. The length of Vivien's stay in Portugal is given.³ He ruled in peace ten months, had been besieged in Galicia one year, and in Monte Argiento, before Guichart came, one year, after he came, four years. Thus the total period was seven years. It is told that this period began one year and four months before Orange was besieged by Tibaut, and that Vivien and Guillaume began to suffer from famine about the same time.

At the time that Bertran was sent from Orange to get aid for Guillaume, Aimer was preparing his second relief expedition for Vivien. Bertran joins this expedition and takes a brilliant part in the ensuing defeat of the Saracens and relief of Vivien. Aimer did not know who Bertran was until he asked him, after they had captured the hill Monte Argiento. Bertran says he is the son of Bernard. He would not embrace Aimer, because of a vow to Guiborc. Aimer promises Bertran to go to the relief of Guillaume. Vivien comes out with Guichart from the castle and joins in the battle. Vivien and Maltribol fight in the river and kill each other's horses. The Saracens are defeated and flee. Bertran tells his friends of his vow to Guiborc and of his mission.

The castle of Monte Argiento is destroyed by the Christians, upon the promise that they will assist Vivien in the conquest of Aragon. The army leaves Portugal and returns to Spain.

Aimer with forty thousand men, the flower of his army, proceeds to Pietrafitta. He is accompanied by Vivien, Guichart his brother, Bertran "il Timoneri," Guidone, Guicciardo di Comarcis, Guidolino de Gironda, Gualtieri, and Berlinghieri, sons of Aimer.

At Pietrafitta Louis grants a favor to Aimer. When he finds out that he is asked to pardon Bertran, he does so unwillingly.

The combined French army of one hundred and seventy thousand men, under Louis, now proceeds to Orange. Louis makes Aimer commander-in-chief.

Tibaut and Malduche di Ramesse and Maltribol are the principal Saracen leaders.

A terrible battle rages for several days.

On the second day of the battle, Bertran and Vivien, with four thousand men and forty packhorses loaded with provisions, force their way into Orange. Guillaume, Guiborc, and the others besieged are near death from starvation. After eating, Guillaume

comes forth and attacks the enemy, with Vivien, Bertran, and three thousand men.

Tibaut, Malduch di Rames, and Maltribol assail the Christian army. Tibaut kills Guibelin, the youngest brother of Guillaume. Garin comes to avenge his brother and is himself killed by Tibaut.⁴

Aïmer receives from king Drubiele a severe lance wound. Drubiele is killed by Bertran. Aïmer, feeling himself mortally wounded, goes to avenge his brothers on Tibaut, with the expectation of dying with him. Tibaut's lance pierces Aïmer's arm. Aïmer faints while the Christians are extracting the broken piece of the lance, and he is carried, with three mortal wounds, to the tent of Louis.

At nightfall Tibaut encounters Vivien. Vivien wounds Tibaut in the arm, and is wounded by him in the breast. Night ends the combat. The Christians have had the worst of the battle and are in great sorrow for Guibelin, Garin, Aïmer, and Vivien.

Next morning a messenger comes from Tibaut to king Louis, asking for a truce of three days. This is granted. But when the truce was eight days past, Tibaut raised the siege and went into Aragon, whence he sailed to the Orient.

King Louis now returns to Paris, taking Aïmer with him, in a cart, that he may receive better medical treatment. But Aïmer died five days after reaching Paris, and many said that he had been wounded with poisoned weapons.

After Vivien's wounds are healed, he asks the Narbonnais to aid him in the conquest of Aragon, as had been promised to him in Portugal.

Two of the sons of Guibelin had died by accidents on the day when their father was killed. All the others were with

⁴ Vol. I. 512.

Vivien in the conquest of Aragon and seven of them remained who afterward died with him.

Guillaume has the bodies of Guibelin and Garin buried with great honor at Orange. The body of Aïmer is interred, in the presence of Louis, Bernard, Boeve, Ernaut, and other barons, in the church of Saint Denis at Paris.

All then return into their own lands. Gualtieri and Berlinghieri return into Spain, to maintain the dominion acquired by Aïmer, their father. The sons of Garin remain with Guillaume at Orange.

End of volume I.

VOLUME II

LIBRO QUINTO

Guillaume is at Orange, with Vivien, Guido, Guicciardo, Guiscardo, Gualtieri, Berlinghieri, and the eight sons of Guibelin. Vivien addresses his relatives and asks them to aid him, according to their promise, in the conquest of the kingdom of Aragon and the territory of Aliscante. As this region is the dowry of Guiborc, there is all the greater reason for taking it.

Accordingly an army of sixty thousand horsemen leaves Orange on the fifteenth of August, and proceeds to Tortosa. Vivien is made commander-in-chief.

The Christians capture Tortosa. After remaining there one month, they leave Ferantino with ten thousand men and go to Valenza, which they reach after four days' march.

Guido da Talosa is killed in battle by Esarabrun. Guillaume grieves at the death of Guidone [Guido here].

Guillaume kills Felerigi, "capitano della giente, che venne di Ragona."

Bertran and Vivien capture the city of Valencia.

After a rest of thirty days, Rimesi, son of Guibelin, is left with ten thousand men, and the army, after many days' journeys, comes to "Angrara in Aliscante."

In the battle which follows, Guillaume, supported by the French, makes a terrific onslaught at the city gate. The Christians enter and capture the city. Brofanet of Damascus flees from the city of Angrara, journeys to Iscalona in the Orient, and reports to Tibaut that the Narbonnais are conquering "tutta Aliscante di Ragona." Tibaut is much moved by this and plans to make a new expedition against the Christians.

The Narbonnais have now captured Tortosa, Valencia, and Angrara "in Aliscante, in Ragona."

After thirty days, they leave Dioniso with ten thousand men, and proceed to "Pirpigniano, grossa città in Aliscante di Ragona."

Vivien, by killing Firion in a duel, takes his castle of Torsitore. One thousand men are left in charge.

Vivien and Bertran take the city of Perpignan at night, by stealth. The Christians find in the place Violante, the fifteen year old daughter of Salinesso, the Saracen ruler, who had fled. Vivien asks Guillaume for her. Vivien has her baptized, "e per sua femina la tenne cinque anni."

Tortosa, Valencia, Angrara, and Perpignan are all said to be "in Aliscante di Ragona."

Guillaume now sends a messenger, Galeotto, to his brothers, for reinforcements. Ugonetto, son of Guibelin, is left in charge at Perpigniano, and the army journeys to Barcelona.

A great battle fought at Barcelona is indecisive.

The Narbonnais in France send reinforcements. Ernaut sends his sons Viviano de la Ciera Grifagnia and Guidolino, and these were made the leaders of the fresh army of twenty-six thousand men. They stop at Orange on the way and receive from Guiborc one thousand additional men. Thence the relieving army proceeds to Barcelona, where it joins forces with the army of Guillaume.

After another battle, the Christians penetrate into Barcelona and capture that city. Vivien and Bertran enter first. Lamireche, the Saracen leader, flees on horseback, disguised as a Christian, goes into the Levant, and reports to Tibaut. Tibaut declares that he will yet have vengeance.

After thirty days, Guicciardo is left with ten thousand men and the rest of the army proceeds to Saragossa. There follows an account of the siege and battle of Saragossa. Vivien kills

the giant Scarabat. Bertran enters Saragossa by stealth and the Christians capture the city.

After eight days, they set out to capture Galatevitto, "grossa città," last of the great cities of Aliscante, "e poi avremo preso tutta Aliscante in Ragona." Gatamar, governor of Galatevitto, in addressing his nobles, reminds them how Guillaume has taken from Tibaut, Orange and Nîmes, and his wife, and killed his son. Vivien and Gatamar fight a duel for the possession of the city. Vivien cuts off Gatamar's arm, whereupon Gatamar says that he is mortally wounded and asks as a favor that Vivien marry his beautiful daughter Falsetta, who is fifteen years of age. Vivien replies that he has a wife, but promises to give her to a baron of his family. Gatamar dies content, and the Christians take the city. Vivien finds Falsetta and gives her to wife to Namerighetto. Guidone is left with ten thousand men and the Christian army returns to Saragossa.

King Louis, having heard in a letter from Guillaume, of the conquest of Aragon, sends as his representatives at the coronation of Vivien, Ugone da Fieravilla and Buoso d' Aernia. The pope, Giovanni VIII, sends a cardinal. Four months after the conquest, Vivien, son of Garin, is crowned king of Aragon. Guillaume first knighted Vivien and then placed the crown on his head. A week afterward Guillaume gives to Vivien the beautiful Violante, the daughter of Brofante, and he marries her. Altino, a spy, saw all these things and reported them to Tibaut.

All the barons return now to their own lands. Namerighetto went into Spain with Falsetta, his wife. And we read here that "In questa parte finisce il trattato de l' acquisto di Ragona per me, Uberto, duca di San Marino."

After three years Vivien, happening to be at Tolosa (Tortosa), sends for all his relatives to come to the annual festival of his coronation. All the sons of Guibelin came, also

Guicciardo, Guidone, Guiscardo and many others. Great festivities are held in Vivien's honor.

The following passage is of such importance that it is given here:

Accadde che il re Viviano si trovò a Tolosa. . . . E mentre che stava in festa nel suo regnio, accadde che re Tibaldo avia raunata . . . molta gente, e re di corona, per riavere la Ragona, Oringa, Nimizi, e la sua donna Orabile, che Guglielmo avia tolta, ed ebbe raunato secento migliaia de saraini, e venti re di corona, e iscese alle piaggie di Ragona per aquistare sue terre.

Finisce l'Acquisto di Raona.⁵

⁵ Vol. II, 90.

APPENDIX

LA STORIA DELL' ACQUISTO DI RAONA SECONDO IL CODICE
MAGLIABECHIANO (PALCHETTO IV, N. 35).⁶

There follows now a different version of the conquest of Aragon.

Vivien having recovered from the wound which he received in battle at Orange, asks of the Narbonnais the fulfillment of the promise, made to him when Monte Argiento was destroyed, to aid in the conquest of Aragon, whose coast was then a convenient landing place for the Saracens en route for France.

Vivien reminds them of the battles at Norbonne, at Toiosa, "dove il nostro gloriosissimo sangue acquistò perfetta fama." He rehearses the exploits at Galicia and Monte Argiento, the deeds of Aïmer, et cetera. To this, Guillaume makes favorable reply and all agree to go with Vivien and not abandon him till death. Guidone is left with Guiborc at Orange, as captain of the guard.

Guillaume, together with his nephews and an army of eight thousand men, sets out for Aragon. They proceed to Avignon, to Nîmes, to Narbonne, where they find Aimeri, a disconsolate old man, and their afflicted mother Ermengart, sorrowing for the loss of their sons. There is great rejoicing on the arrival of the Christian army. Aimeri approves of Vivien's plan and gives two thousand men and provisions. The army comprises now ten thousand men.

They now advance to Perpignan, "che è la prima terra di Raona."

Tibaut, on retreating through Aragon, after being wounded at Orange, had said that his return would be soon.

King Ferrante of Aragon, whose capital is Saragossa, sends

⁶ *Nerbonesi*, II, 41.

ten thousand men to the defence of "Propigniano." The Saracens are defeated there and flee thence to Giunchiera, Fighiera, Girone, Sterlich, and Barcelona. Aimeri, on getting the news, sends one thousand men from Narbonne to guard Perpignan.

The Christian army proceeds by the same route that the Saracens followed above. The towns surrender without resistance.

The army now advances to Barcelona. King Ferrante sends thither ten thousand men. Five of his sons are there. In the battle which follows, Bertran takes possession of the city by stealth and the Saracens withdraw. The five brothers flee to Villafranca di Penedes, thence to Terragona, and then to Tortosa upon the river Ebro. From Tortosa they send to their father a request for aid.

Word comes to Guillaume that King Ferrante and four of his sons are coming to Tortosa with seventy thousand men. Upon hearing this, Guillaume sends at once for aid to the sons of Aimer. They come in response with thirty thousand "spagnuoli pregiati" to Barcelona.

The Christian army now proceeds to Villafranca, which has surrendered. And at the same time king Ferrante and his army reach Tortosa. Guillaume advances to Terragona and arranges the army in divisions. Guillaume has forty thousand men and Ferrante has eighty thousand. The great battle is joined in the field of Terragona. During the conflict Guillaume is severely wounded in the breast with a lance by Danacon, son of Ferrante, and is obliged to leave the field. He retires to Villafranca to have the wounds dressed and cannot return to the battle that day. Namerighetto, in attempting to avenge Guillaume, is also badly wounded with a dart by Danacon and is removed to Villafranca. Vivien now rides up to Danacon unobserved and kills him. Later in the day Vivien kills the old king Ferrante, who was a most faithful baron of Tibaut. And all of

Ferrante's ten sons fall upon the same field. The Saracens flee but all are cut down, in revenge for the slaughtered Christians. Terragona surrenders and is occupied by the French. Guillaume and Namerighetto are cured and ride to Terragona.

They now prepare to go to Tortosa,

Per farne signore Viviano, per cui fatto era questo acquisto;
fatto che era l'acquisto di Tortosa fusse adempiuta la intenzione sua
(of Guillaume), e di Viviano.

Accordingly the army advances to Tortosa. Namerighetto, Alardo, and Guillaume, as ambassadors, make formal speeches to the citizens of the city. The citizens of Tortosa accept the terms which are proposed and hail Vivien as their new king, to whom they swear allegiance, and accept the Christian faith. And now follow great festivities. Word of the conquest is sent throughout Christendom.

Guillaume and "Beltramo el Temoniere" now go to their homes, to the great regret of Vivien. Seven sons of Guibelin remained; also Guichart, Vivien's brother; and Guicciardo, son of Boeve de Commarcis. Gualtieri and Berlinghieri, sons of Aimer, returned into Spain. Guillaume returned to Orange and Bertran to his father; then Bertran went to be with Guillaume "che senza lui non potea stare."

LIBRO SESTO

This book also was written by "Uberto duca di Sanmarino. After Vivien was made ruler of Aragon,

Guglielmo dimorava a Oringa e Viviano era a Tortosa.

With Vivien are seven sons of Guibelin; also Vivien's brother Guichart; and Guicciardo, brother of Guidone, and son of Boeve de Commarcis. The names of the sons of Guibelin were Milor Anfernace, Ferantino, Rinieri, Dionisio, Ugonetto, and Alorinc

The Narbonnais learn that Tibaut has assembled an army to pass the sea.

E Viviano lo fe'assapere al conte Guglielmo, ed egli fe'grande gente venire da Parigi e da'suoi fratelli, e partissi da Oringa, e andossene a Barzalona, e lasciò Beltramo a Oringa con bella compagnia di cavalieri; ma egli menò quindicimila cristiani a Barzalona. . . . E Viviano fecie raunare la sua gente a Tortosa.

Guillaume remained at Barcelona for fear that Tibaut would take that city.

Tibaut is in sorrow because the Christians have conquered Aragon, the dowry of Orable, now Guiborc, having previously taken Orable and Orange, wounded him and driven him from the field. He goes to all the monarchs in the Levant, and all of them promise him aid, among them his uncle, "l'Almansore" of "Arabia Felicie."

In Africa he visits "Isramo (Sdram) di Rames" and his brothers, but they would not enter the campaign, for they remembered the war in Spain against Vivien and Aïmer. Another reason that the members of the di Rames family will not aid, is that, when Orable was captured, Tibaut had left her alone in Orange, had gone into Candia, and had lost her through his own negligence. The youngest brother, Malduche di Ramese (Mauduit de Rame) goes, however, with Tibaut.

Next spring the greatest army of those times—seven hundred thousand men—assembled at Alexandria in Egypt. In the company of leaders were twenty-two kings, among them the Almanzor, king of Arabia; the Alpatris of Mecca; king Tibaut of Arabia, "re di Spagna"; and Malduche di Ramese. The beautiful Anfelizia of Candia goes with them.

This vast army passes over the sea and disembarks at three points on the shore of Aragon. It lands, in three great corps, at the following places:

The first corps:

A Valenza l'Almansore, Tibaldo, l'Alpatris, . . . e Malduche

They were here joined by a giant who had already waged war against Vivien in Portugal, namely Maltribale (Maltribol). Tibaut paid him great honor. In this corps were two hundred thousand men.

The second corps:

e nel porto di Tortosa, ovvero presso a Tortosa inverso Valenza. Presso a dieci miglia a Tortosa,

there disembarked the second corps of two hundred and fifty thousand men, with Malduche, Morganello, Liveanfero di Liconia, Malabruno and others. It will be noticed that Malduche (Mau-duit) is said to have landed with both these corps.

The third corps landed in the plain of Terragona and Barcelona three days later than the others,

e costo il loro tardare caro a Guglielmo, come seguirà la storia.

Vivien

raccolse a Tortosa quanta gente potette, e uscì con ventimila cristiani contro al re di Loconia, e a re Malabrun.

The leaders of the first division of ten thousand men in Vivien's army are Guichart, Guido and Guicciardo, sons of Boeve, Rinieri and Dionisio, sons of Guibelin. The leaders of the second division, of ten thousand men, are Vivien, Guido, Milone, Anfernacie, Ferantino, Ugonetto, and Alorino, sons of Guibelin.

Vivien attacks with such vigor as to drive the enemy back

insino alle navi, e già in su la riva del mare era la battaglia.

The Saracens would have been defeated but for the arrival of Tibaut.

Tibaut, the Almansor, the Alpatris and others, disembark at Valencia with two hundred thousand men. The following account of the approach of the Saracens is quoted from Andrea:

. . . lo re Tibaldo con cinquantamila in una ischiera, seguendo la marina, veniva inverso Tortosa; e quando fu presso a due leghe sentì come la battaglia era grande. Ed egli si partì dalla marina, e andò una lega inverso terra, e intanto giunse l'Alpatrice, Folcanoro Oldolieri, e Maltribolo con cinquanta migliaia dov' era la battaglia, e isso fatto entrarono nella battaglia contro a' cristiani. Quando Viviano s'avvide di questa gente, fe' sonare a raccolta per tornare inverso Tortosa, ma lo re Tibaldo, e Malduche di Rames, e Scardorbas erano entrati tra la città, e Viviano, e gli avia tolta la tornata, per modo che Viviano si trovò nel mezzo di tre campi, e intorno intorno era combattuto la sua gente.

Tibaut kills Renier. Guichart is captured and sent to the Almansor, "che veniva su per la marina." He is put in prison in the hold of a ship. Tibaut strikes down and captures Guido who is sent where Guichart is confined. Tibaut kills Milon and Ferantino, son of Guibelin. Half of Vivien's men are killed.

e Viviano tanto fecie, ch'egli passò un piccolo fiumicello, e ritirossi forse con otto mila in su uno poggio.

Vivien thought that he could defend himself there. He calls Guicciardo di Cormanzis, who had the best horse in their army, and says:

ti priego che tu vada a Barzalona al nostro difenditore Guglielmo, e sì lo priega che mi soccorra, e noi ci difenderemo per due giorni in su questo poggio.

Vivien charges down "giuso al fiume" and opens a way for Guicciardo. Vivien promises him that if he is succored, he will give him Tortosa with all its territory. Guicciardo passes the Saracen army. And

Viviano si radusse sulla spiaggia del monte, e ivi si difendia,

Part of the Saracens now go around the hill and appear

in su la cima del poggio di sopra, e assalirono i cristiani. Quando Viviano vide venire i nimici di sopra, conobbe non avere più riparo.

Ferantino fights by the river and is killed by Oldolieri on the gravel. Vivien, seeing the death of Ferantino, charges among the enemy with lance but no shield.

e uno grande nimico di Viviano, chiamato Maltribol, arrestò una lancia contro a Viviano, e l'uno percosse a l'altro, e per forza di loro, e di loro cavagli si passarono tutte l'armi insino di drieto alle ispalle, e' loro cavagli dierono di sotto, e ogniuno cadde indrieto, e morirono amendue i baroni, e' cavagli, e così morì Viviano de l'Argiento, figliuolo di Guerino d'Ansidonia, e 'l valente Maltribol. E in questo punto tutta la giente de Viviano fu isbarattata, e morta; e qui uccise Tibaldo di scontro di lancia Dionisio, figliuolo di Ghibellino.

Ugonetto is also killed and Alorino. The Christians who have now been captured are Guiscardo and Guido. Guicciardo has gone for aid; all the rest are killed. Tibaut has the bodies of the seven sons of Guibelin found and, together with Vivien, buried with honor and with Christian rites in a village church.

e poi l'altro dī n'andò al campo alla città di Tortosa.

Guicciardo

la notte vegniente giunse a Barzalona, e raccontò tutta la imbasciata al conte Guglielmo,

and how Guiscardo and his own brother Guido were killed or captured. Upon hearing of the disaster the sorrow of Guillaume is great.

Guillaume, not knowing that all the army of Tibaut had landed, "si parti da Barzalona" in haste, with twenty thousand men, before daylight, "e tutto l'altro giorno cavalcò."

That same day the ships of the third Saracen squadron arrived at Barcelona and landed two hundred thousand men. Of these, eighty thousand were sent after Guillaume toward Tortosa. With them went a valiant king, "Balduche lo Nomidio."

That night Guillaume encamps, and in the morning he advances to the hill by the battlefield. He is attacked by the whole Saracen army. He has the recall to retreat toward Barcelona

sounded, but before he has issued from the valley he meets the eighty thousand coming from Barcelona. Guillaume with ten thousand men now faces the enemy from the north, while Guicciardo with the other ten thousand faces south. Guicciardo is knocked down and captured by Tibaut and sent to the Almansor. Guillaume does marvels of prowess, but he finds that all of Guicciardo's force, which faced the south, have been killed and the banners are on the ground. And now all of Guillaume's own men are killed.

Guglielmo rimase solo, e per tutta la valle non v'era più niuno della gente sua.

Guillaume spurs his horse and escapes from the Saracens through the valley. Tibaut follows with the entire army

insino a Oringa, . . . isperando riavere donna Tiborga. . .
Guicciardo fu imprigionato dov'era Guidone e Guiscardo.

Guillaume has lost all his men "nello regnio d'Aliscante." Vivien and the seven sons of Guibelin are killed, and the following are prisoners: "Guiscardo, fratello di Viviano, e Guido, e Guicciardo," sons of "Buovo di Cormaris." Guillaume's loss is forty thousand men.

When he has gone a league, Guillaume kills king Archillo, father of Balduch, captures his very powerful horse and escapes. Guillaume is regularly said to carry a blue banner with a golden horn upon it. Balduch pursues, to avenge his father's death.

El conte Guglielmo s'andava molto lamentando, e in questa parte seppi io, Uberto duca di san Marino, come Guglielmo era istato sconfitto, perchè da una molto forte castello, chiamato il Moro, fu veduto passare Guglielmo che s'andava lamentando, ed era solo.

Herbert goes on to say that his men captured a Saracen and learned of all that had happened. He then had all this written by a scribe to the king of France. The scribe's name was Ebalduin.

Lo re Balduche giunse Guglielmo in una pianura a piè di san Marino.

Guillaume escapes through the woods. He rides all night and in the morning stops to rest in a house in a town. He laments for his losses, sleeps, then starts on. Balduch overtakes Guillaume, but he escapes again through the mist. He leaves the road and goes across country. At the top of a hill he is again overtaken by Balduch. Guillaume's horse is exhausted. In the ensuing fight both men are brought to earth. Balduch's horse was one of the best in the Saracen army. Guillaume kills Balduch with the sword, siezes Balduch's horse and escapes.

Guillaume goes through wild and unfrequented country to avoid the pursuing Saracens. He crosses the

fiume di Ruciera, il quale entra in mare tra Macalon, e Nerbona.

He passes the Pyrenees, having had nothing to eat for two days. On the fourth day he leaves the Pyrenees and takes a road through France toward Orange.

e l'ottavo giorno dal dī, che fu sconfitto, giunse a Oringa.

He finds twelve hundred knights that he had left there wounded. Bertran, not thinking that the war would come so soon, has left Orange and gone with many good men, to visit his father.

All in Orange are surprised to see Guillaume return alone and in such terrible plight. He recounts the disaster. All his men are killed, including Vivien, Milon, Anfernace, Ferantino, Rinieri, Dionisio, Ughetto, and Alorino. Guiscardo, Guido, and Guicciardo are prisoners. Guiborc comes down from the palace and hears the news. Lamentation of all. Guillaume and Guiborc go up into the palace and weep all that day.

Before many hours, Tibaut encamps within one league of the city, hoping soon to have Guillaume in his hands, to recover Guiborc, and to wholly destroy Orange.

In the morning, Guillaume, on seeing the country covered with Saracens, curses "Aliscante, e Ragona."

Guiborc encourages Guillaume, reminding him how he had captured Orange and herself, and had worn the crown of France for seven years against so many enemies. Guiborc advises him to send for aid by his servant, "ch' è del legniaggio, che fu Uggieri Danese, e à nome Gherardo Dusmas." He understood Arabic and many other languages and was very loyal. Guillaume sends Girart to his brothers and to the king. Guillaume laments

che male per me vidi mai Oringa e Nimizi, e mal fa chi toglie le terre altrui. Della quale cosa molto me ne pento, ma poco mi vale.

When Guillaume says to Guiborc that Tibaut, if he recaptures Orange, will take her to wife again, she wishes that God may first give her death.

Girart leaves Orange in a boat on the Rhone, sailing through the arrows of the Saracens. The account of Girart's mission and of the subsequent events is similar to that of *Foucon*.

THE RENOART ACCORDING TO THE STORIE NERBONESI

The *Storie Nerbonesi* contain also an account of Renoart, of which a résumé is given here.⁷

Deramé has massed an army of three hundred thousand men, to attack Orange. He is in his palace, surrounded by thirteen of his sons. These were later killed by the youngest son, Renoart. Renoart comes in with a hawk, and when asked by his brother Borel to take the bird out, he threatens Borel with a knife. Because of this, Deramé puts Renoart in prison, where he remains for twenty years. A sorcerer had told Deramé that he and all his sons would die at Renoart's hand, in case the latter should escape.⁸ Deramé sails from Arganoro with his fleet and army and leaves Renoart a prisoner.

Renoart has a dream in prison, in which Christ appears to him, promising his release, if he becomes a Christian. Three days later he induces two of his guards to permit his escape. Inasmuch as he is brother of Guiborc, wife of Guillaume d' Orange, they think he will become great. Wielding an iron-bound mace, Renoart kills the other guards and makes his way to freedom. He goes to the sea-coast, sails in the steward's boat to the same port where his father had landed, and passes through the Saracen camp.

Finding Orange besieged by Deramé, he travels to Paris, where he begs his bread in the streets. The king's chef gets Renoart to serve in the kitchen of the palace, where he does the labor of ten men. Four days after his arrival, and after three days of kitchen service, it is announced that the king has returned "della Magnia" (Allemagne), because of the invasion of Deramé.

⁷ Vol. II. 479-531.

⁸ Ibid, 482.

At a banquet Renoart sees ⁹ Elise, a sister of the king. She was the widow of Arneïs, duc d'Orleans, who had been killed by Guillaume, for treason toward the king. Renoart falls in love with her, and when Louis learns this, he says that Renoart must be of high family or he would not have fallen in love with the king's sister.

Guillaume, besieged at Orange, thinks Bertran and his other relatives must be ignorant of his situation. At the suggestion of Guiborc, Guillaume himself goes in search of aid. He sails in a small boat on the Rhone to Avignon, and thence proceeds to Andernas, the city of "Naiemeri." He visits Boeve, his brother, at Commarcis. The Povre-Véu goes with Guillaume, and Gui remains to collect troops. Bernard, when visited by Guillaume, does not wish to go to Orange; but Bertran raises an army of eight thousand men for Guillaume.

Guillaume and the Povre-Véu now go to Paris, where the people in the streets point out Guillaume as the man who has caused the death of so many Christians. When Guillaume enters the palace, Renoart runs in to see him. Renoart is taller, by an arm's length, than all the rest. With the consent of the king, Guillaume induces Renoart to accompany him to Orange.

There is a banquet, and out-door games, in which Renoart wins the prize, a garland, which is placed on his head. As a special exhibition of strength and to the amazement of all, he uproots a young pine tree. Out of this tree they fashion for Renoart a tincl, bound with three bands of iron.

When the army of one hundred and fifty thousand men starts, Renoart takes with him lance and sword, but forgets the tincl. Later Guillaume meets him at a bridge and inquires what he has done with the tincl. In disgust, Renoart throws his lance into the river, returns to the kitchen, gets the tincl, and again reaches the same bridge within two days.

The army crosses the Rhone upon a large bridge at Pierrefite, in Provence, two days' march from Orange. A great review is held at Pierrefite. A large number of cowards attempt to desert, but meet Renoart resting by the bridge. He kills sixty of them and brings the rest back to Guillaume, who makes him their leader. Guillaume puts this division in the foremost position, in the ensuing battle, and promises to Renoart a reward. Only three things are reserved,—the crown of France, Guillaume's religious hope, and Guillaume's wife. Renoart asks that Elise, the sister of the king, be given him. Guillaume is afraid when Renoart reveals to him his parentage.

The two armies are now ready for battle. Among the Christians are Bertran, le Povre-Véu, Gui, Guidolino, and "Viviano della Ciera Grifagnia." The latter two are said to be sons of Ernaut.

Informed by a spy of the presence of Renoart in the French army, Deramé fears for his other sons and warns the spy not to tell them. Deramé tells the first two divisions that they are to endeavor to kill a giant in the French army, who is a German.

The leaders of the divisions of the Saracen and Christian armies are named.

In the battle which follows, Renoart kills many of his brothers. They remember the prophecy according to which he was to destroy them. Renoart, when surrounded by the enemy, is rescued by Guillaume and the Christian forces.

After performing prodigies of strength and valor, Renoart, with the remnant of his division, retires from the battle to rest. Meeting the division of "Viviano alla Ciera Grifagnia," he has his wounds dressed, then returns to the conflict.

During his absence, the Christians have nearly lost the battle. The fight continues fiercely. The people of Orange see the banners, and Namerighetto, comes forth¹⁰ with four thousand

knights, in support of the Christians. Namerighetto kills the bearer of the great Saracen standard and drags the latter to the earth.

Deramé, recognizing that Renoart is the chief cause of his poor success, rushes upon him with a lance and wounds him badly. Renoart knocks Deramé from his horse and stuns him. Renoart is about to kill him with the tincl, when Deramé declares that he has come seeking death, because his sons have been killed. After an inner struggle, Renoart sets his father on a horse and tells him to flee, for his army is hopelessly defeated.

The Saracen army is now routed with terrible slaughter. Some escape in ships, many are drowned in the river. The Christians pursue toward Avignon.

Within three days the Christian army returns, with immense booty, to Orange. Guillaume makes Renoart a duke. When Renoart learns who Guiborc is, he kneels before her and calls her "cousine." They were children of two brothers.

Andrea says that he has greatly shortened the account, which in the original was very long.

The Povre-Véu is dead and greatly mourned.

Renoart recovers from his wounds. His brothers are interred in tombs with Saracen rites.

All now go to Paris. People flock thither to see Renoart. King Louis honors him and has him baptized in the church of St. Denis. After this, he is knighted by the king, and is given the title of "duca di Ragona." Renoart marries Elise (Olizia), the sister of the king, and is given a fine palace at Paris.

Later Deramé learns of Renoart's marriage and sends a spy who steals his baby, Galifer, for which he substitutes another. Aeliz (Elise) dies. Galifer is taken to Deramé. Renoart recognizes that the other child is not his own.

After eleven years, Renoart, who is very unhappy, confesses to a priest his sin in not having his father and brothers baptized

before killing the latter. With some difficulty he obtains absolution.

Because of the evil he has done, Renoart decides to become a hermit. His tincl has been left at Orange. In the garb of a pilgrim, he leaves the court, travels through wild regions, and reaches St. Jacques. Thence he goes to Rome, and finally establishes himself in the Apennines.

Notes on Le Storie Nerbonesi

LIBRO PRIMO

The names "di Rama," "di Ramesse," in the *Nerbonesi*, correspond to the name Deramé (Desramé) in the French chansons.

The spelling "Namieri," probably comes from Provençal. The N (from En), prefixed in Provençal to names beginning with a vowel, is a title, derived probably from *domne* (domine) or from *domen*.¹¹ Similar N forms are also found in the epics, as *Naimer*, and others.

LIBRO SECONDO

Brunetta, the wife of Ugo de Fieravilla (Hugues de Florinville), is represented as a daughter of Aimeri; whereas in *Foucon* Hugues' wife is Aimeri's granddaughter (a daughter's daughter).

The fact that Charlemagne ordered Guibelin to acquire Tolosa¹² may be compared with the statement¹³ that Charlemagne gave Tolosa as a dowry to Brunetta, wife of Hugues.

A false date is given¹⁴ for the death of Charlemagne, June 29, 827. He died in 814.

LIBRO TERZO

Andrea's appellation "de l' Argiento" for Vivien, which he explains by saying that its origin was Vivien's wearing silver

¹¹ Cf. G. Paris: *Histoire Poétique de Charlemagne*, p. 81, and *Mélanges L. Couture*, Toulouse, 1902; P. Meyer: *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 6th Series, III. 16, and *Recherches sur l'Epopée Française*, Paris, 1867, pp. 42, 43; A. Thomas: *Essais de Philologie*, I. 288. See also the historical grammars of Diez and Meyer-Lübke. Diez and Paris derive *en* from *domen*, Thomas and Meyer-Lübke from *domne*.

¹² Chap. 42.

¹³ Chap. 21.

¹⁴ Chap. 42.

trappings in the tourney at Paris in honor of the coronation of Louis, may be connected with the name Archant. It is supposed that Andrea used to some extent Italian or Franco-Italian versions of the Old French chansons. In some of these the words Archant, having been received orally by the introducers of the French poems and thus mistaken for the word *argent*, may have appeared either as Argent or Argiento. Andrea may thus have found the name and in all probability himself invented the explanation of the silver trappings of Vivien. The same may apply to the name Monte Argiento and Andrea's statement (probably also original with him) that Vivien buried much silver in the foundations of that castle, in remembrance of his own name Viviano de l' Argiento. Another possible source of the name Argiento, especially in the form Monte Argiento, may have been the *Vie de St. Honorat*, in which Vivien is said to have sojourned for a time at the monastery of Mont Argent in the Alps. Andrea may have seen the *Vie de St. Honorat* and obtained there his idea. There is also said to be, not far from Orange, a small town called Mont d' Argent, but I do not consider the latter a probable source.

Andrea states that Louis knighted Vivien.¹⁵ This tradition is nowhere found in the French epics. In the latter Vivien is knighted by Guillaume.

LIBRO QUARTO

The explanation of the origin of the name Tiborga (Guiborc), given in chapter 13, that Guillaume so named Orabile, "dama di Borgo, perchè la trovò nel borgo della terra, e none in sul palazzo reale," is evidently a mere fancy and has no probability.

The very favorable attitude of the queen Blanche-flor toward Guillaume, when Bertran requests aid for him at Orange, should be compared with her hostility after the battle of Aliscans.¹⁶ In chapter 25 it is Blanche-flor whose entreaties and tears move the king to grant the desired aid, in the other scene she is more opposed to granting assistance than is the king himself. Why is her attitude toward Guillaume, as represented in the *Nerbonesi*, so much more favorable than is the case in *Aliscans* and the *Willame*? It may be that the original of the woman who quarrels with Guillaume in the *Willame* and *Aliscans* was neither his sister nor the queen.¹⁷

Bertran's act in killing "Giulimieri di Baiona" (one of the disloyal family of the Maganza) in the assembly of barons at Paris because of his hostility to Guillaume,¹⁸ may be compared with Bertran's killing the king's seneschal in the *Enfances Vivien*. In the *Enfances* the king complains also that Bertran had killed one of his courtiers on a previous occasion. It will be seen, however, that the consequent anger of the king toward Bertran is more persistent in the *Nerbonesi* and that his final pardon is brought about by another cause.

Andrea may have derived the given names, such as Isram (or Iranse), Anibaldo, and Malduche, which he prefixes to the name di Ramesse, from various historic rulers of the Abd-er-Rahmân line. The dynasty is known to have been in power at Cordova for several hundred years. It is probable that several Abd-er-Rahmâns are blended in the Deramé (Desramé) of the French chansons. Andrea would then be right in enumerating several men of the di Ramesse (Abd-er-Rahmân) family.¹⁹

¹⁶ Cf. the *Willame C*; and *Aliscans*.

¹⁷ This is the opinion of Professor Weeks, who has given this subject special study.

¹⁸ Chap. 26.

¹⁹ The persistence of this name in history is shown by the fact that a recent Ameer of Afghanistan was Abd-er-Rahman Khan (1830-1901).

After Aïmer's defeat at Monte Argiento, it is said that he returns through Asturia and Galicia into Spain.²⁰ Therefore the word *Ispagna* as here used does not include those provinces. Elsewhere in the *Nerbonesi* it does not include Catalonia or eastern Aragon.²¹ And there is a passage in *Foucon*²² indicating that Valencia was not considered a part of Spain. The word Spain, as employed in the *Nerbonesi*, for the country of Aïmer, refers particularly to the north central portion of modern Spain, bounded by Asturias and Galicia on the west and by the eastern part of Aragon on the east. It would thus seem to have corresponded more or less to the territory included by Navarre, Vascongadas, and the northern part of Old Castile.

When Bertran meets Aïmer in Spain, he does not embrace him, because of his vow to Guiborc. Compare Guillaume's vow to her when he went to Paris (in *Aliscans*). As Guillaume was Guiborc's husband, his vow of abstentions seems the more reasonable of the two.

The fact that Vivien sallies forth from the castle of Monte Argiento and attacks the Saracens, at the time of the approach of the second relief expedition under Aïmer, may be compared with his premature self-sacrifice by issuing from the ancient castle in the Archamp, when the army of Guillaume is approaching in the *Chevalerie Vivien*.

When the French army has united at Pietrafitta²³ Louis grants a favor to Aïmer, who has just saved Vivien and Guichart at Monte Argiento and has added a large contingent to the French forces. Aïmer asks for the pardon of Bertran for having

²⁰ Chap. 34.

²¹ It is stated in Chapter 14 that Saragossa "is the last city of Aliscante, which borders on Ispagna."

²² The statement of Guillaume, after the victory at Arrabloi, that he wishes to go into Spain and challenge Tibaut for "terre certaine."

²³ Chap. 38.

killed "Giulimieri di Baiona" in the king's presence at Paris. The king is displeased at the request and pardons Bertran unwillingly, merely on account of his promise to Aïmer. This may be compared with the similar scene in the *Enfances Vivien*, where Louis pardons Bertran for the sake of Duke Naimés.

The relief of Guillaume, who is on the verge of starvation in Orange, by Vivien and Bertran, who force their way into the city with four thousand men and forty packhorses loaded with provisions,²⁴ receives valuable confirmation from a passage in the *Siège de Barbastre*.²⁵ In this account Boeve de Commarcis (Comarchis), who is besieged in Barbastre, sends to Guillaume the following message:

Et Guillaume me dites, lou marchis alosé,
 Qu'il me vigne secore a trestot son barné,
 Ausin com ge fis lui en la bone cité,
 Cant rois Tibaut li asist par sa grant poesté.
 Je conquís les somiers qui portoient lou blé,
 Lou vin et lou bescuit et les bacons salés,
 Par Bertran li tramis dedans la fermeté.
 Illoques lo vi-ge si de fain atiré
 C'a poines out les levres et les dens desseré
 A .i. coutel tranchant que l'an m'ot aporté;
 Lou pain el'eue teve el cors li colé
 Ans qu'il ourist les lievres ne qu'il aüst parlé.

The messenger, Hunalt de Bretagne, in giving the message to Guillaume, states definitely that it was in Orange that Guillaume was thus succored, when besieged by "Tibaut et Desramés," and that Guillaume was so reduced by hunger that he could not speak.

In the vivid account given by Andrea²⁶ of the fierce conflict for the relief of Orange, Tibaut kills Guibelin and Garin

²⁴ Chap. 41.

²⁵ Bibl. Nat., MS. 1448, fol. 131, vo.

²⁶ Chap. 42.

and mortally wounds Aïmer. The *Nerbonesi* are the only source in which occur these three fatalities among Guillaume's brothers at Orange. Yet we have seen that in *Foucon* only three of these brothers—Bernard, Boeve, and Guillaume—seem to remain of the original seven. There are indications, however, that Ernaut may have played a rôle in *Foucon*. In one version he is indicated several times.

After Tibaut has wrought this havoc among the Christian leaders he meets at nightfall Vivien, whom he also wounds, but is himself severely wounded in the arm.²⁷ It seems evident that this wound was the cause that next morning Tibaut asked for a truce of three days, and also that, when the truce was some days past, he suddenly raised the siege of Orange, returned into Aragon and sailed thence to the Orient. Vivien is therefore, according to the *Nerbonesi*, the principal factor in the relief of Orange. This tallies with Vivien's statement in A of the *Willame*, when he asks Girart to remind Guillaume that he had won the battle for him at Orange. The fact, however, that according to the *Willame* A, Tibaut was killed by Vivien at this time, whereas in the *Nerbonesi* he escapes, indicates that in this regard, the *Willame* A, in fact all of the *Willame*, is more primitive.

27 Loc. cit.

VOLUME II

LIBRO QUINTO

The Conquest of Aragon

The fact that Tortosa is the first object of attack on the part of the Christian forces under Vivien and Guillaume, after leaving Orange²⁸ would seem to indicate the importance which attached to that place in the mind of the author. It suggests that Tortosa seemed the best known of the cities connected especially with Vivien.

The four days march from Tortosa to Valencia²⁹ corresponds well with the actual distance, which is about one hundred and nineteen miles.

There is some confusion in regard to Guido and Guidone.

The town of "Angrara in Aliscante," captured by the Franks³⁰ is perhaps the modern city and small independent state of Andorra, in the Pyrenees. The many days journeys mentioned in reaching this place from Valencia would tally with the long distance to be covered. Another town suggested for identification with Angrara is Logroño, in the center of Old Castile and on the route to Saint Jacques. The latter is at present much the larger town of the two.

It is to be noted that, although Vivien was said³¹ to have been made commander-in-chief of the army, Guillaume is everywhere the real leader. He arranges the divisions of the army and prepares the plans of battle. In this connection it may be noticed that, in the fine account of Guillaume's fierce onslaught at the city gate of Angrara, Vivien cries out in admiration:

²⁸ Chap. 1.

²⁹ Chap. 3.

³⁰ Chap. 6.

³¹ Chap. 1.

Vedete Guglielmo, nostro capitano, in sul ponte.

"Perpigniano" is apparently Perpignan, in the extreme south of France and directly east of Andorra. The comparative nearness of these places would seem to strengthen somewhat the idea that Andorra is the correct interpretation for Angrara. The distance from Andorra to Perpignan is about seventy-eight miles, that from Logroño to Perpignan is about two hundred and sixty-eight miles. It must be admitted, however, that the geographical indications of this portion of the *Nerbonesi* are untrustworthy.

It is stated that at the siege of Saragossa ³²

Viviano, e Guido, e Viviano de la Ciera Grifagnia facieno cose ismisurate.

The passage is of interest as perhaps the only one which places the two Vivians in the same action. Considerable mystery seems to attach to this lesser Vivien, said to be a son of Ernaut. It is possible that in some source the greater Vivien was designated as having such features as the words Ciera Grafagnia indicate and that Andrea by mistake considered this to be another person.

The limits of the region called by Andrea "Aliscante in Ragona," and "Aliscante di Ragona," seem to be fixed by the location of the cities which are said to have been taken by the French in this conquest of Aragon, and which are all expressly included in Aliscante. These cities are Barcelona, Tortosa, Valencia, Saragossa, Galatevito, Angrara and Perpignan. It is said that after the Christians capture Galatevito they will have conquered "tutta Aliscante in Ragona."³³ It seems probable that this conception of Aliscante was a mere fiction of Andrea, built up on the word Aliscans, which he evidently did not understand. He may have heard also of the city and province of Alicante, south of Valencia.

³² Chaps. 15, 16.

³³ Chap. 17.

After Vivien has been crowned at Saragossa king of Aragon, and the barons have returned to their own lands, it is said that,

In questa parte finisce il trattato de l'aquisto di Ragona per me Uberto duca di San Marino.

This would certainly seem to indicate that Herbert le Duc, author of *Foucon*, wrote also the original which Andrea has followed in this account of the conquest of Aragon. Some features of it do indeed resemble the style of *Foucon*, for instance the several love affairs, the duels, and in general the gallant and chivalrous spirit of the recital. It may be said also that it is in the style of Andrea. It is a combination of the two.

The short chapter which follows,³⁴ was evidently added to the account of Herbert either by Andrea or some one else, with the special purpose of placing Vivien at Tortosa at the time of the great invasion of Catalonia by Tibaut. This chapter is a connecting link between the first account of the conquest of Aragon and the recital of Vivien's last, fatal battle with Tibaut. The closing line: "Finisce l' Acquisto di Raona" was very probably added at the same time as this connecting chapter.

The historical basis for this conquest of Aragon may be in part the capture of Barcelona from the Moors by Louis le Débonnaire in or about 801, in which conquest Guillaume de Toulouse took an active part. Louis captured also Tortosa from the Moors in 811, after a long siege; but the Moors soon recaptured it. The historic Guillaume de Toulouse was not present at the siege of Tortosa, having before that time entered the monastery of Gellone. He died in 812, one year after Tortosa was captured. From the time of Louis le Débonnaire northern Catalonia formed a part of the Frankish kingdom, under the name of the Spanish Mark.

APPENDIX

LA STORIA DELL' ACQUISTO DI RAONA SECONDO IL CODICE
MAGLIABECHIANO (PALCHETTO IV, N. 35).³⁵

The following are some of the many differences between this and the former account of the conquest of Aragon.

Guidone is left with Guiborc at Orange, as captain of the guard.

The army with which Guillaume and his nephews set out for Aragon consists of eight thousand men. This modest force may well be compared with the army of sixty thousand in the first account, afterward reinforced by twenty-six thousand, thus making (losses excluded) a total force of eighty-six thousand men. Such an army is too large to be readily available to the Narbonnias alone, for in this campaign they receive no assistance from Louis. The size of the army in the appendix seems more reasonable.

The progress of the army is geographically logical in the appendix, whereas in the other version it is highly unreasonable. In the appendix the order of march is from Orange to Avignon, to Nîmes, to Narbonne, to Perpignan ("Propigniano"), to Giunchiera, to Feghiera, to Girone (Gerona), to Sterlich, to Barcelona, to Villafranca to Terragona, to Tortosa. A glance at the map will show this order of progression, so far as the towns are known, to be geographically correct. The order of march in the first account of the conquest of Aragon, on the other hand, was as follows: Orange, Tortosa, Valencia, Angrara (Andorra or Logroño ?), Perpignan, Barcelona, Saragossa, Galatevitto. The absurdity of such a progression is self evident.

³⁵ *Nerbonesi*, II, 91.

Aliscante is never mentioned in the appendix. This is in very striking contrast with the first account, in which the name Aliscante plays so large and fanciful a rôle. The correct use of the simple word "Ragona" (Aragon) in the appendix is another evidence of the better knowledge of geography on the part of its author.

In the appendix all of Aragon is under the authority of king Ferrante, the governor for Tibaut, whose capital is Saragossa. This well organized condition of Aragon under a central government, located at the true capital, is also more reasonable than its total lack of such organization in the first account of the conquest.

There is in the appendix no statement that Vivien is made commander-in-chief. Guillaume is everywhere the commander in name as well as in fact.

When the army is arranged in divisions at Terragona,³⁶ the sum of the men given for these divisions tallies with the total number (forty thousand) which Guillaume would naturally have at this time; for he started from Orange with eight thousand men, received two thousand men from Aimeri at Narbonne, and has been reinforced by thirty thousand men under Aïmer.

In the appendix, Tortosa is the last city to be captured; in the former account it was the first. And we have seen that a special chapter was added to the narration by Herbert, in order to account for Vivien being at Tortosa at the time of his last conflict with Tibaut. When the French army advances to Tortosa it is, according to the appendix,

per farne signiore Viviano, per cui fatto era questo aquisito; e fatto che era l' aquisito di Tortosa fusse adempiuta la intenzione sua (that of Guillaume), e di Viviano.

Tortosa is then the goal of Vivien's ambition. It is at Tortosa, instead of at Saragossa, that Vivien is made king. Vivien

is thus naturally at Tortosa, which seems to be his capital, at the time of the great invasion by Tibaut, and does not need to be brought there purposely from Saragossa as in the first account.

LIBRO SESTO

This book was written, according to the heading, by Uberto duca di Sanmarino. It is then the second important portion of the *Nerbonesi* which Andrea seems to have derived from Herbert le Duc and which is specially connected with this study.

It is told that when Vivien heard of the approaching invasion by Tibaut, he sent word to Guillaume, who promptly assembled a strong force and marched to Barcelona.

As far as the presence in the action of Tibaut is concerned, this account is plainly later than that in the *Willame*. Also in regard to Guillaume coming to Barcelona, this account, is more recent than A, and perhaps B, of the *Willame*.

We have here the very valuable additional information that Vivien was at Tortosa, where indeed it was natural that he should be, judging from the appendix account of his conquest of Aragon.

The di Rames family, which is visited by Tibaut, is seen to live in north Africa. Isramo di Rames, here mentioned, had fought against Vivien and Aïmer in Galicia, and, because of his defeat there, would not enter the new campaign proposed by Tibaut. The youngest brother, Malduche di Rames, goes nevertheless with Tibaut and is present in the great battle in which Vivien succumbs. It seems therefore that it is this member of the di Rames family who is in particular the original of Deramé. In *Foucon* we have seen Deramé and Mauduit de Rames represented as two distinct men. In the *Willame* and *Aliscans*, however, there is only one Deramé.

The account of the landing of the three great divisions of the Saracen army, of their subsequent movements and those of

the Christian forces is of the highest interest, in that it enables us to form a very definite conception of the location, according to Andrea, of Vivien's final battle. The first grand corps of Saracens, under the Almansor, Tibaut, the Alpatris, and Malduche (Mauduit), landed at Valencia, where they were joined by a giant named Maltribale (Maltribol), who had previously waged war against Vivien in Portugal. The second corps landed about ten miles from Tortosa and in the direction of Valencia, under Malduche, Morganello, Lucanfero di Liconia, Malabruno, and others. It will be seen that Malduche is said to have landed both with the first and the second corps. The third corps landed in the plain between Terragona and Barcelona, three days later than the others, and it is stated that their delay cost dear to Guillaume. Vivien came forth from Tortosa, with twenty thousand men, and advanced against the king of Liconia and king Malabrun. It will be noticed that these men were leaders of the second Saracen corps, which landed ten miles from Tortosa and toward Valencia. An examination of the map will show that such a point on the coast would be either southeast of Tortosa and south of the Ebro or almost due east of Tortosa and north of that river. The mouth of the Ebro is on a point which projects much farther to the eastward. Inasmuch as the Ebro is a river of no mean proportions and would form something of a barrier to an army, and as there is no mention here of this river nor any indication that either the army of Vivien or the second Saracen corps crossed a large stream, it seems reasonable to infer that the second corps landed north of the mouth of the Ebro and consequently east of Tortosa. When Vivien's onslaught drives the second corps back to their ships, the battle rages upon the seashore, evidently at the place above indicated,

e già in su la riva del mare era la battaglia.

This statement that the battle was near the coast agrees perfectly with the *Willame A.* and with frequent allusions in *Aliscans*.

The first corps of Saracens, under Tibaut, the Almansor, and the Alpatris, disembarks at Valencia. Tibaut, with a division of fifty thousand men, advances northward along the coast and approaches Tortosa. When he was two leagues distant he could tell from the uproar how great the battle was. He then leaves the seashore and marches inland a distance of one league, where he is joined by the Alpatris and Maltribol with fifty thousand men, and at this place was the battle—"dov' era la battaglia." This indication is practically the same as that given above and the two agree in placing the battle as eastward or southeastward from Tortosa and between that city and the coast of the Mediterranean.

Such is the testimony of Andrea, apparently derived from Herbert le Duc. It is the only mention of the definite location of Vivien's final battle. Although the designation, the Archamp, is not found in this recital (it has already been noted that Andrea probably gave his version of this word in "Viviano de l'Argiento"), it may be that in some lost source, perhaps the primitive poem of a separate cycle of Vivien, *la Chanson de la Bataille de l'Archant*, this name was applied to the place above indicated in the *Nerbonesi*. Although the *Willame* gives no definite location for the field, the account and the data which it does give are in perfect harmony with this location of the battle between Tortosa³⁷ and the Mediterranean.

37 Tortosa, "une ville forte," is located on the left bank of the Ebro, where the latter issues from the picturesque mountains to the west and sweeps thence in a long curve south-eastward to the Mediterranean. Tortosa is thirty-four kilometers southwest of Barcelona. The Roman name of the city was Julia Augusta Dertosa. Tortosa is of great military interest and has imposing fortifications which have been

When Vivien saw the attack of the one hundred thousand men under Tibaut, the Alpatris, and Maltribol, he sounded the retreat³⁸ and wished to return to Tortosa, but Tibaut had already taken that city, and Vivien found himself surrounded on the battlefield.

Guichart and Guido are captured and sent to the Almansor, who is approaching along the seashore.

When half of Vivien's men are killed, he succeeds in passing a little stream ("un piccolo fiumicello") and with eight thousand men retires to the slope of a hill. Thence he sends "Guicciardo di Cormanzis," who had the best horse in the army, to Guillaume at Barcelona.

ti priego che tu vada a Barzalona al nostro difenditore Guglielmo.

Vivien says that he can defend himself for three days in that position.

The little stream referred to may be the turbid brook of the Archamp, mentioned in A of the *Willame*. The messenger Guicciardo is probably the same as Girart, who is sent by Vivien in the *Chevalerie*. In the *Willame* also it is Girart who bears

preserved from Roman times. It is the key to the Ebro and was long a source of contention between Moors and Christians. Both the Moors and the Goths left at Tortosa traces of their passage which are still discernible. Tortosa was besieged by Louis the Pious, son of Charlemagne, in 809 and captured by him in 811. Soon recaptured by the Moors, it was made a haunt of pirates. Its final capture from the Moors, in 1148, was by Ramon Berenguer IV, in a special crusade proclaimed by Pope Eugenius III. It is worthy of note that Abd-er-Rahmān III (perhaps one of the originals of "Deramé") built at Tortosa a mosque, on the site now occupied by the cathedral. There is in the sacristy of the cathedral a Cufic inscription relative to the erection of the mosque. The Alemudena, or tower, is of Moorish origin.

³⁸ Cf. Vivien's momentary retreat in *Aliscans* when attacked by 100,000 Saracens under Gorhaut, and his subsequent penitence because he had broken his vow.

the message. The fact that the messenger is sent to Guillaume at Barcelona accords perfectly with the *Willame* A. Vivien's situation at the time of the sending of the message, upon a hill with eight thousand men, seems much less desperate than that in A of the *Willame*, and accordingly there seems more reason for expecting aid to reach him in time.

But the end is hastened by the unexpected appearance of the enemy on the summit.

Quando Viviano vide venire i nimici di sopra, conobbe non avere più riparo.

Seeing the death of Ferantino on the shore of the stream, Vivien charges among the enemy, kills the champion Maltribol, and at the same time is slain by him—

e così morì Viviano de l'Argiento, figliuolo di Guerino d'Ansiconia, e'l valente Maltribol.

It is a noteworthy fact that different men are named in the various sources as the slayer of Vivien. In the *Willame* he is not named, which seems a sign of great primitiveness in this respect. In *Foucon* it is either Tibaut himself or under his direction.³⁹ In the *Nerbonesi* it is Maltribol. In *Aliscans* it is Haucebier.⁴⁰ According to the *Enfances Vivien* it is Aerofle (Alderufe). The metrical versions of the *Chevalerie Vivien* do not name anyone in particular as the slayer of Vivien, but in the prose version Aerofle is indicated. In the *Willehalm*, Vivien and the Nonpatris slay each other.⁴¹ In the *Roman d'Arles* Vivien is killed by Goliart; in *la Vie de St. Honorat* by de la Trape.

³⁹ Cf. *Foucon*, MS. of Stockholm, fol. 77, vo., where Tibaut says of Vivien: "Veiant mes oilz li fis lo chief colper." *Modern Philology*, III. 216, note 3.

⁴⁰ Professor Weeks identifies Haucebier with Maltribol. (*Messenger in Aliscans*, pp. 146, 147).

⁴¹ 24, 30; 25, 20-25.

It is worthy of notice that in the above account Vivien's last charge was toward the stream, upon whose shore he falls, as in the *Willame A*.

Two of Vivien's cousins, Guido and Guiscardo, have been captured. The smallness of this number of captives indicates an early stage in the legend, perhaps between the *Willame A* and B.

All the rest of Vivien's men, including all the sons of Guibelin, have been killed, with the exception of Guicciardo, the messenger to Barcelona.

Tibaut has the bodies of Vivien and the seven sons of Guibelin buried with honor in a village church. The burial of Vivien here is contrary to the *Willame A*, where he is left upon the field of battle.

Guillaume, upon receiving at Barcelona the message of Guicciardo, leaves in haste, before daylight, with twenty thousand men. As he had brought fifty thousand men from Orange, he apparently leaves thirty thousand men at Barcelona. However, he did not know that Tibaut's main army had landed. That same day the third corps of the Saracen army disembarked at Barcelona and eighty thousand men were sent toward Tortosa in pursuit of Guillaume.

In the battle which follows, Guillaume advances to the hill by the former battlefield. Apparently Guicciardo has guided the Christian army, as he naturally would do, to the same hill where, two days before, he had left Vivien. Attacked by the overwhelming forces of the enemy, Guillaume attempts to retreat toward Barcelona, but, before he has issued from the valley (the Archamp is frequently spoken of in the French chansons as a valley), he is attacked by the eighty thousand men from the north. Guicciardo is captured and sent to the Almansor, being the third of Guillaume's nephews to be taken prisoner. The statement that Guillaume's entire army is destroyed corresponds to the account in the *Willame A*, and in *Aliscans*.

Guglielmo rimase solo, e per tutta la valle non v'era più niuno della gente sua.

As in the French epics, Guillaume escapes alone through the valley, from the field of battle. Tibaut pursues with the entire Saracen army clear to Orange, "isperando riavere donna Tiborga."

It is stated that Guillaume lost his army "nello regnio d'Aliscante." This again seems to be Andrea's interpretation of the name Aliscans, which he probably found in the French of Herbert le Duc. Guillaume's loss is forty thousand men. This would seem to be either the twenty thousand men which he took south from Barcelona plus the twenty thousand men of Vivien, or more probably is meant for the fifty thousand men which he was said to have brought from Orange to Barcelona. Nothing more is heard of the thirty thousand men left at Barcelona, but they would naturally have met their fate at the hands of the vast third corps of the Saracen army, which landed at that city.

The three Christian prisoners are Guiscardo, brother of Vivien, and Guido and Guicciardo, sons of Boeve de Commarcis.

A point has now been reached in the narration of Andrea which corresponds to the commencement of *Foucon de Candie*.⁴² As the following events are also very nearly the same in the *Nerbonesi* and in the work of Herbert, we may conclude that from this point Andrea has copied from some redaction of *Foucon de Candie*.

⁴² Cf. the sentence: "El conte Guglielmo s'andava molto lamentando," with the beginning of *Foucon*. Cf. also the statement that "Uberto duca di san Marino" had an account of Guillaume's flight written to the king by the scribe Ebalduin with the third and fourth lines of *Foucon*:

Herbert les fist li Duc à Danmartin,
Les fist escrire en un brief Bauduin.

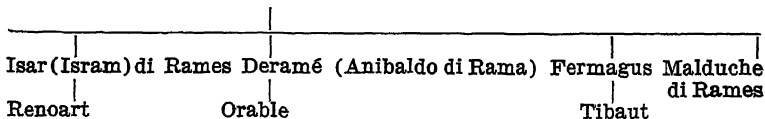
Notes on the Renoart in the *Nerbonesi*

The story of Renoart as presented in the *Storie Nerbonesi* is strikingly different from that in the *Willame R*, in *Aliscans*, and in the *Enfances Vivien*.⁴³ Among the principal differences are the following:

Renoart is imprisoned by Deramé, his father, and remains a captive for twenty years. He would then be a man grown when he later went to Paris, instead of a boy as in the French poems. As it is in general a later tendency to recount the boyhood of a hero, the omission of many details in connection with the boyhood of Renoart is an indication that this account in the *Nerbonesi* is more primitive than those in the French chansons.

After escaping from prison, Renoart goes to Paris voluntarily, not as the slave of king Louis as in the epics.

Renoart is a cousin, instead of a brother, of Guiborc. Their fathers were brothers, both named Deramé. The prison guards, however, had called them brother and sister. By combining the data of the *Nerbonesi* with those of *Aliscans* and of the prose manuscript 1497 of *Aimeri de Narbonne*, the following genealogical table may be constructed:



Deramé is informed by a spy of the presence of Renoart in the Christian army at Orange, and recalls a prophecy that, if Renoart should ever escape from prison, he would kill his father and brothers. Accordingly Deramé warns his sons to try to kill a giant in the French army who is a German.

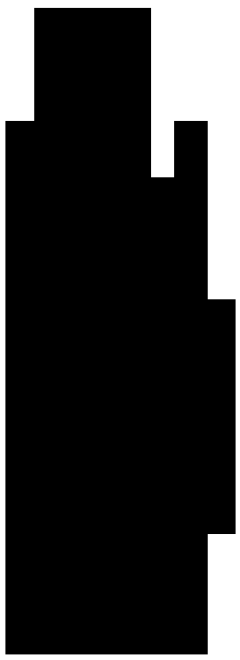
In the *Nerbonesi* it is at Paris, instead of Orange, that Renoart is baptized, and he is knighted by Louis, not Guillaume.

Renoart marries Olizia (Elise), instead of Ermentrud as in the *Willame R.* Olizia corresponds to Aelis in *Aliscans*, but in the *Nerbonesi* she is the king's sister, instead of his daughter. This latter fact may be another indication that Renoart is conceived to be older in the account of Andrea than in *Aliscans*.

The subsequent events—the substitution, by an emissary of Deramé, of a strange infant for that of Renoart; Renoart's trip to St. Jacques, and his establishing himself later as a hermit in the Apennines, are entirely omitted in the French poems which have been mentioned. This account is from the *Moniage Renoart*. Still further in the *Nerbonesi* Renoart and his son Galifer participate in later battles, the source of which Andrea probably found in *la Bataille Loquifer*.⁴⁴

It would seem that the source from which Andrea drew his version of *Renoart* had not yet been welded with the story of the battle of the Archamp or Aliscans. If this was the case, then the *Renoart* of the *Nerbonesi* is more primitive than R of the *Willame*, where the fusion has already occurred.

⁴⁴ As remarked by L. Gautier (*Ep. Fr.*, IV), Andrea has in the later events connected with Renoart made a hasty résumé from his French sources. Andrea himself indicates this (*Nerbonesi*, II. 526) by referring to "le cose, chè brieve iscrivo per lo troppo tedio."



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LA CHANSON D'ALISCANS

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LA CHANSON D'ALISCANS

INTRODUCTION

The *Chanson d'Aliscans* is a later development in France of the same epic which is found in an earlier stage in the Anglo-Norman manuscript, the *Chanson de Willame*.¹

The chanson of *Aliscans* exists in thirteen manuscripts, most of which are from the thirteenth century. Those most worthy of mention are the manuscript of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 6562, anc. B. L. F. 185; the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale 2495, 777, 1449; and the manuscript of Boulogne. The manuscript of the Arsenal, dating from the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, is the best and most ancient. It alone has the "petit vers hexasyllabic," placed at the end of each laisse. This indication of age was the especial reason why Messieurs Guessard and Montaiglon selected it as the basis for their edition of *Aliscans*. All the manuscripts in verse are written in rhymed decasyllables. There is also one prose version, contained in the great compilation of French manuscripts 1497 of the Bibliothèque Nationale. M. Gautier says that a

¹ L. Gautier (*Epopées Française*, IV.) states that Orderic Vital refers (*Hist. ecclesiastica*, lib. VI. édit. de la Soc. de l'Hist. de France, III. 586) to poems sung by jongleurs and of which Guillaume was the hero. These would then go back at least to the end of the eleventh century and ought to include *Aliscans* as the center of the cycle. Therefore there was probably a redaction of *Aliscans* one hundred years older than our extant versions. It was evidently in assonance and probably much shorter and much simpler in the second part. Gautier adds that if the primitive text of *Aliscans* could be found, it would perhaps be as beautiful as *Roland*. These suppositions of Gautier have been confirmed in nearly every particular by the discovery of the *Chanson de Willame*, the oldest part of which probably dates from about 1075.

philological study shows that the present text of *Aliscans* is a century later than that of *Roland*.² The date of composition of our present redaction was probably in the third quarter of the twelfth century, perhaps about 1165.

M. Paulin Paris divides *Aliscans* into two parts: *la Chevalerie Vivien* and *le Renouart*.³ L. Gautier considers this very arbitrary and declares that it is not justified by any manuscript. He considers *Aliscans* essentially one drama. Yet Gautier himself admits that the first 3145 lines give so profoundly dramatic a story that, "On ne peut même pas, selon nous, le comparer au reste du poème;" this first part is "un véritable chef-d'œuvre, auquel on ne peut comparer que *Roland* ou *Girart de Roussillon*."⁴ Gautier contrasts the sublimity and beauty of the first part with the tiresome adventures of Renoart. It will be seen that by these statements Gautier unconsciously strengthens the division of the chanson made by P. Paris. We fully agree with M. Paris in considering that the Renoart portion of *Aliscans* is a distinct division of the chanson. It was in all probability at one time a separate poem,⁵ and was fused perhaps early in the twelfth century with the *Chanson de Guillaume*, which was the forerunner of *Aliscans*.

The historical origin of both *Aliscans* and the *Chevalerie Vivien* has been considered the battle on the river Orbieu in 793. In this important conflict Guillaume de Toulouse, though defeated, inflicted such damage on the Saracens, under Heschem, successor to Abd-er-Rahmân I, as to cause their return into Spain. Guillaume de Toulouse thus became the savior of France in scarcely less degree than was Charles Martel at Poitiers in 732. Memories of this earlier battle may to some extent have

² L. Gautier, *Ep. Fr.*, IV.

³ *Histoire littéraire de la France*, tome XXII.

⁴ L. Gautier: *Ep. Fr.*, IV. 473.

⁵ Cf. the account of Renoart in the *Nerbonesi*, II. 479-531.

mingled with those of the battle of the Orbieu in the origin of the poem. The fact, however, that both the battle of the Orbieu and the first battle of *Aliscans*, which is probably of earlier composition than the second, are defeats for the Christian arms, may indicate a special connection between them. It has also been thought that the victory won over the Saracens at Fraxinet in 975 by Guillaume I, comte de Provence, was confused in popular memories with the battle of the Orbieu. The fact that Fraxinet was a Christian victory, however, may have suggested the second battle of *Aliscans*, which is likewise a triumph for the Christian forces.

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Résumé of the Chanson of Aliscans

Aliscans begins with these lines :

A icel jor ke la dolor fu grans
Et la bataille orible en Alicans,
Li quens Guillaumes i soufri grans ahans.

The Christian leaders at the beginning of *Aliscans* are Guillaume, Vivien, Bertran, Gaudin le Brun, Guichart, Girart de Blaives, Gautier le Tolosan, (Hunalt de Saintes), Foukier de Mellant.

There is mention of the enemy's ships, and of "li Archans." Deramé (Desramé) is leader of the Saracens.

Guillaume seeks Vivien. Vivien has fifteen wounds. More than twenty thousand men are wounded.

Vivien is near death; he is fighting "toward the Archamp," toward the sea. He comes upon one hundred thousand pagans armed with iron maces—the army of Gerhaut. He retreats less than a spear's length; but is stopped by a stream and is conscious of having broken his covenant. For this he asks pardon of God, and returns to the fight.

Bertran comes to the aid of Vivien, and they fight side by side. King Haucebier attacks with twenty thousand men. Five counts, their cousins, arrive; their names are: Girart, Guielin de Commarcis, Hugues de Melans, others not mentioned. Vivien kills the Alpartris, who had given him his worst wound. The pagans lament that Vivien, who, they say, was killed the day before, has come to life.

It is stated that Guillaume has dishonored Tibaut and has taken from him Orable and all his lands.

The seven cousins attack the enemy and put them to flight.

Aerofle now attacks with twenty thousand men. Aerofle is the strongest man except Renoart (who is son of Aerofle's eldest

sister) and Haucebier. Aeroffe captures Guichart. The other counts attempt to rescue him, but are themselves captured. These seven cousins were Bertran, Guichart l'enfant, Girart, Guielin, Huon, Gautier, and Gaudin. Vivien tries to rescue them.

Description of the giant Haucebier, line 368, "ainc ne fu si fors hom." He hurls a piece of lance, which wounds and knocks down Vivien. "Dist Hauchebiers: 'De cestui pais avon;'" (line 380)

Haucebier goes to capture Guillaume, to deliver him to Tibaut.

Vivien revives from his faint, rides "en l'alues de l'Archant." He dismounts under a tree and commends his soul to God. He is near the sea, by a fountain. He prays for Guillaume.

Of Guillaume's twenty thousand men only fourteen are left. They wish to escape to Orange. Guillaume attacks the enemy with the sword "Joiouse." The enemy flees from him; but all of Guillaume's men are slain.

Guillaume flees toward Orange on Baucent.

Aimeri, Guillaume's father, is living. (line 556)

This was a greater battle than "Rainceval." (line 559)

Guillaume is pursued by the pagans. He will go by the "val sardaingne." He fears to be drowned in the sea and turns back. He is wounded fifteen times and his armor broken to pieces. He returns to the Archamp.

Guillaume finds Vivien under a tree and laments over him. He praises his character and valor in touching terms. He says that he had knighted him in his palace at Termes. Vivien revives and speaks to Guillaume. Guillaume tells Vivien that he is now more nearly related to him than any other person. Vivien confesses that he has retreated a little that day. Guillaume gives him some consecrated bread. Vivien dies and his soul is received into paradise.

Guillaume lays Vivien on his shield and covers him with another. He thinks he should take Vivien to Orange for burial. He raises him into the saddle on Baucent, and starts toward Orange, but the way is blocked by the Saracens, and he is obliged to return. He lays Vivien again under a tree and covers him with the shield. Guillaume tries to escape alone, but is again forced to return.

A Vivien est retornez arrier,
La nuit le guete deci à l'esclairier. (929)

In the morning Guillaume rides past the enemy. When attacked by eight kings, he is wounded four times and his shield and lance are broken. He kills most of them and escapes.

Guillaume is attacked by seven other kings. One of them is Esmeré d'Odierné,

Flax fu Tiebaut, chou est la verité. (1048)

Esmeré asks Guillaume why he disinherited him, took his territory, and killed his two brothers. Guillaume replies that an unbeliever does not deserve to live. Farther on, the way is blocked by Aerofle and Danebur (line 1087). The latter is killed by Guillaume. Aerofle is angry and speaks insultingly of Guiborc,

Ki mon neveu Tiebaut a fait honir, (1151)

Guillaume has dulled his sword, Joieuse. Baucent is bleeding, ready to fall. Guillaume tries to pacify Aerofle. Aerofle says that he will let him go, if he will give up Orange to Aerofle's brother, Deramé, and Guillaume's wife to Tibaut. Guillaume scorns the offer.

In the fight between Guillaume and Aerofle which follows, both are dismounted and wounded. Guillaume praises Aerofle's sword in preference to Joieuse, which Charlemagne had given him at Aix (lines 1276-1279). Guillaume severs Aerofle's thigh

with the sword. He mounts Aerofle's fine steed, Folatille (line 1350). Aerofle offers to have Guillaume's nephews released, if he will give back his horse. But Guillaume returns and cuts off Aerofle's head.

Guillaume takes off the harness of Baucent and lets him go free.

Guillaume seizes and puts on Aerofle's armor. The transformation is succinctly expressed in the lines:

Il prist les armes, si s'en est conrées;
Le palen samble, quant il s'en fu armés. (1368)

Farther on Guillaume is pursued by

Baudus li fix Aquin. (1410)

The pagans now kill Baucent, which had followed Guillaume thus far. Overtaken by Baudus, on a hill, Guillaume dismounts him and decapitates Baudus' horse, in revenge for Baucent.

Guillaume's nephews are imprisoned and will never be delivered except by Renoart (Rainouart), who is in the kitchen at Laon.

Guillaume rides on and comes in sight of the towers and steeples of Orange and the palace Gloriete,—

Les murs d'araine k'il ot fait batillier. (1558)

He laments:

A com grant joie m'en issi avant ier.

At the gate of Orange the porter thinks Guillaume a Saracen. Guillaume tells the porter that he is Guillaume,

Ki en l'Archant ala son duel vengier.

The porter calls Guiborc, who also fails to recognize Guillaume and will not have the gate opened. She says she is entirely alone, but for the porter and a "clerc" of ten years.

Guiborc requests Guillaume to show the bunch on his nose, in order to prove his identity. Seeing a band of one hundred Saracens conducting some Christian prisoners, Guiborc asks Guillaume to free the captives. The Saracens think that Guillaume is Aerofle. He routs them, rescues the prisoners, and is admitted into Orange.

The Saracen army, under Tibaut, Mautreblez (Maltribol), and Haucebier, promptly arrives and besieges Orange. Esmeré, the son of Tibaut, is present. They swear a siege for one year, but Renoart will prevent it.

Guillaume is wounded fifteen times. He says (line 1830) that the pagans have pursued him "plus d'une grant journée." Guiborc asks him about Bertran, l'enfant Guichart, Guielin, Gaudin de Pierelée and Vivien. He replies that all are killed. She is greatly grieved and asks him to give her back Bertran, Guielin, Guichart, Gautier de Termes, Girart, Guineman, Gaudin le Brun, Ioseran, and Vivien.

Dame, dist il, mort sont en Alischans,
Devers la mer, par devers les Archans. (1850)

Guillaume praises the way his nephews fought.

Sor tous les autres le fist miex Vivien;
Car ainc ne fu por Sarrasins fuians
Par nule force .i. plain pié reculans. (1865)

He repeatedly says his nephews are all killed.

Mort sont mi home, n'en est nus escapans. (1872)

Guiborc asks if these are killed—Bertran, Gaudin le Brun, Guichart, Gautier de Termes, Girart, and Guielin. Guillaume now turns right about and says:

Nenil voir, dame, (ainçois) est cascuns vis;
En une nef les tienent paiens pris,
Mais mors i est Vivien li hardis. (1890)
Anchois i ving ke il fust defenis.

He found Vivien on a bank, under a tree.

Guiborc advises Guillaume to send for aid to his brother-in-law, king Louis—

A ton serouge, le fort roi Loëis, (1913)

and to his parents, Aimeri and Ermengart de Pavie (lines 1924-1927). Here the king is said to be at St. Denis. Guillaume makes to Guiborc a vow of abstentions until he shall have returned, and this he afterward keeps. He dons the rich armor of Aerofle and rides his fine horse, Folatise (Folatille).

Guillaume leaves Orange just before dawn and escapes the Saracens by saying that he is

Aerofles dou pui del Valfondée. (2057)

He journeys to the city of Orléans, where he has a hostile reception by the citizens. Here, at Orléans, Guillaume kills the castellan of the city and more than fifty citizens with Joieuse.

Ernaut of Geronde, a brother of Guillaume, and son of Ermengart de Pavie, hearing of this slaughter by an unknown knight, who rides the largest horse ever seen, spurs after him with a company of knights. Not till Guillaume has struck Ernaut from his horse, do they recognize each other. Guillaume now relates to Ernaut the losses he has suffered in "Aliscans" (line 2227).

Guillaume says that eight of his nephews have been captured by the Saracens: Bertran, Gaudin, Guichart, "Et .v. des autres" (lines 2228-2231). He refers to the ".c. caïtif" (line 2235) whom he had rescued and who are left at Orange.

Ernaut promises aid and Guillaume asks him to report the present state of affairs to "Ermengart de Pavie, La nostre mere" (lines 2253, 2254).

Guillaume now goes to Mont Laon. The people are afraid of him because of his great size and proud face.

Haut a le nés par deseur le gernon (2345)
Et gros les bras, lés poins quarrés en son.

To the bachelors, who ask Guillaume for Spanish gold, he recounts the death of Vivien and the imprisonment of Bertran and the other captives. The Saracens have sworn a siege for seven years.

Guillaume is greeted by the hostile and bantering attitude of Louis. Guillaume is not only ridiculed by the palace idlers, but the king himself shouts insultingly to him from a window, advising him to seek lodging elsewhere. Consequently he lodges with a hospitable citizen.

Next day the king is to crown Blanche-flor (line 2550), Guillaume's sister, who is to be given Vermandois as her dowry.—

Li rois i doit Blanceflor corouner; (2549)
Vostre seror, ki molt vos doit amer.

Guillaume is very angry because of his treatment by the king. He says that he is the guardian of France and bears the oriflamme in battle. He thinks of deposing the king and taking the crown from his head (line 2460).

Wrathfully he enters into the great hall of the palace. Under his cloak he is clad in armor, and his sword hangs at his side. No one, not even the queen, his sister, will recognize him, because of his poverty (lines 2581, 2582).

Aimeri and Ermengart arrive with sixty men and with four of their sons,—Ernaut, Boeve, Guibert, and Bernard (line 2599). Aimer is in Spain. Aimeri is received by the king, "ses genres" (line 2606), who has him sit beside him.

Guillaume says to himself that he has not seen his mother in seven years (line 2632). He reflects that he is old and neglected (line 2633).

He now strides forward, openly defies the king, and threatens his life.

Mais par les sains ke Diex a benéis,
 Ne fust mes pere ki lés lui est assis,
 Ja le fendisse del branc dusqe el pis. (2651)

His insults to the queen begin in *Aliscans* because of her failure to notice him, coming thus before her verbal opposition.

Guillaume recounts to his parents and brothers the defeat in the Archamp. He again alludes to his finding Vivien

mort sor l'estant,
 A la fontaine dont li dois sont bruiant. (2673)

He says the following seven were captured by the pagans:—"le palasin Bertran, Guielin, Guichart, Gerart de Blave, Gautier le Toulosant, Huon de Santes," and "Garnier l'Alemant," (lines 2675-2678).

Guillaume repeats his threats to the king and insults to his sister (line 2690).

Bernard de Braibant weeps for Bertran, and Boeve for "Gerart son enfant" (2706).

Ermengart offers her treasure to Guillaume and says she will herself go and fight.

There follows an elaborate description of Guillaume (lines 2737-). It is stated again that he has "nés haut" and "la brace quarrée" (line 2742).

Guillaume reminds Louis how he put the crown on his head at Paris, in spite of all opposition. He upbraids him for ingratitude. Louis acknowledges his indebtedness to Guillaume and assures him that he will now be rewarded (lines 2765, 2766).

The queen objects to the acquiescence of the king (lines 2767-2769), whereupon Guillaume, angered beyond endurance, addresses her in an extremely insulting tirade. Guillaume chides his sister for forgetfulness of him and his men, suffering,

en estrange contrée,
 Dedens Orenge (2793).

He seizes the queen's crown and throws it down at his feet. He draws his sword and is about to decapitate her, but restrains himself for the sake of Ermengart (lines 2799-2804).

The queen, Blancheflor, flees to her room and faints. When she recovers, she is reminded by her daughter, Aelis, that it was Guillaume who put the crown on her head (lines 2834-2835), when she became queen, and who had raised her to that high position. The truth of all this the queen acknowledges (lines 2841-2843). She now seems forgetful of Guillaume's insults and wishes to be pardoned.

Ermengart and Aelis act as peacemakers between Guillaume and the king and queen. Ermengart reminds Guillaume that Aelis, his niece, is the most beautiful of all his lineage. The king assures Guillaume that he shall have aid. Guillaume is appeased and sheathes his sword (line 2955).

Several knights are now sent to bring the queen. When the queen comes in, Guillaume addresses her first. Both express sorrow for their words and conduct, and they are reconciled.

In lines 3003-3005 we learn that Aelis, daughter of Louis, was afterward married to Renoart.

Here begins a passage which foretells many of the deeds of this strange hero. He will kill the Saracen Haucebier, and deliver Bertran and seven others from the enemy "En Aliscans."

Huimais canchons commence à esforcier (3011)

.....
De Rainouart ki ocist Loquifer. (3014)

He captured at Loquiferne "une loke de fer," which he highly valued, and established there a fine Christian church.

After the banquet, when questioned by Guillaume, Louis defers until next day his decision whether or not he will go to the aid of Orange. Thereupon Guillaume renounces his allegiance and tells the king he shall go *nolens volens* (lines 3041-3059). All discuss the question and Aimeri, who is seated beside

the king at the highest table, says that the whole power of France should aid Guillaume. Again Louis speaks unsatisfactorily and again Guillaume reminds him of how he set him on the throne and induced Aimeri to give him Blanchefflor to wife. Guillaume says to Louis, speaking of Blanchefflor:

Ne jou ne sai en nul sens esgarder
Où tu [péusses mellor feme trover] (3110)

Louis had previously promised Guillaume before the court that he would never fail him, if he were attacked in Orange by Esclers (lines 3118-3121). He now agrees to order out an army of one hundred thousand men, but cannot go in person "à ceste fois." Guillaume is satisfied.

The king at once assembles his army of two hundred thousand men (lines 3143, 3305).

Renoart enters upon the scene of action with line 3148:

De la quisine voit Rainoart torner.

And here begins the *Rainouart* portion of *Aliscans*.

After Renoart's quarrels with the servants, Guillaume inquires of the king about him. Louis says he bought him "sor mer" (line 3197), of merchants, who said he was son "à .i. Escler" (line 3200). He adds that Renoart would never tell him who his father was (lines 3201, 3202).

Aliscans speaks much of the beauty of Renoart. He is not yet twenty years of age, is of great size and prodigious strength. In the kitchen he has become stupid. He eats as much as ten countrymen. He is cruel and dangerous.

Questioned again, the king states (line 3260), that he bought Renoart "Desous Palerne." He has been in his kitchen seven years. At Guillaume's request, Louis gives him Renoart (lines 3287, 3288).

Upon noticing that his tincl is smoky, Renoart hurls it down in disgust and breaks it in two. For seven years he has

wanted to make a larger one. Accordingly he now has the carpenter cut down a fine fir tree in the garden, and fashion from the trunk a huge club, fifteen feet long and bound with heavy iron bands. Upon complaint of the forester, Renoart kills him. He is henceforth styled "Rainoars au tinel" (line 3443).

Renoart regrets that the son of a king should be so debased. He ought to be king of Spain. But he thinks that within a year he will take the crown from Louis.

After a lengthy conversation, Guillaume grants Renoart's request that he may fight "en Aliscans sor mer" (line 3365).

There follows, as in the *Willame*, the incident of the stealing of the club and Renoart's vengeance. In *Aliscans* this is in the king's kitchen and stable at Laon.

The great army starts next morning for the South with much éclat. It is headed by Guillaume. Renoart is left drunk in the kitchen. Hearing the noise, he rushes after the army, is sobered by the water of a ford, and remembers that he has left his tinel behind. He rushes back for it in a rage. Being overcome with hunger, he enters the monastery of St. Vincent, near Laon, where he fills himself with food and drink at the expense of the monks, who have prepared a great feast in honor of the saint. After killing several of the inmates, he returns to Laon. He finds the tinel, which has been hidden in the stable, and wreaks vengeance on the guilty parties. He says he has done with kitchen service.

Ains aiderei Oreble od le vis cler,
Ele est ma suer, si le doi molt amer. (3819)

Renoart overtakes the army before it has wholly crossed the ford.

Aelis, who is with the army during the first part of the journey, sees Renoart dancing with his tinel, making in fact such a buffoon of himself that Guillaume has to restrain the

army from making fun of him, and she is in love with him. She thinks him the handsomest fellow in the army. The jongleur will recount later how the two were married and how she was crowned, in the place of Cordova, queen of Spain (lines 3903-3913).

The army encamps at Orléans. And from thence, Louis, the queen, Aelis, Aimeri, Ermengart, and Guillaume's four brothers go their several ways. Guillaume's relatives promise to bring their forces to Orange.

The jongleur repeatedly announces a chanson. Guillaume will avenge Vivien, and Renoart will release Bertran, Guielin and Guichart, and will kill Haucebier, breaking thereby his tinsel (lines 3952-).

When the army comes in sight of Orange, the Saracens have burned the city (line 3975). Guiborc and the women are in the great square tower. Knights guard the gate. But the Saracens have withdrawn.

Droit vers l'Archant s'ont leur voie arotée, (3991)
 Por faire engin dont la tors fust quassée
 Et la grans tors par terre traïnée(e)
 Rois Desramés a sa barbe jurée
 Ke Guibors ert a cevaus traïnée (3995)
 Et en la mer noïe et esfondrée;
 Mais je quit bien sa barbe ert parjurée.

So when Guiborc sees the French army, she thinks at first they are the pagans,

Ki ja se fust de l'Archant retournée. (4024)

Guiborc again compels Guillaume, before he can be admitted, to show who he is by removing his helmet.

Voit sor le nés la boce aparissant
 Ke li ot fait Isorés de Monbrant
 Très devant Rome en la bataille grant; (4075)
 Li quens l'ocist si kel virent .vii. cent.

Guiborc does not recognize Renoart but thinks him of high family. He tells her that when a little child he was brought to "Monlaon" (Mont Laon) from Spain.

Guillaume goes up into the palace and looks out at a window with Guiborc. He has not yet eaten, yet he at once sees the troops of his brother Ernaut approaching. Ernaut appears now from the direction of Termes. One after another, Guillaume's father and his other brothers arrive with their armies.

Boeve's two sons are in prison, "En Alischans" (4166), also Bertran. Guillaume says that they will be rescued before three days, in spite of Tibaut and Deramé.

In lines 4178, 4179 it is said of

Aïmers li caitis;
Ciex prist la terre de Saint Marc de Venis
Sor les paiens d'Espaigne,

Guillaume says of the Saracens:

Chier leur quit vendre la mort (de) Viviant
Ke laissai mort deseur l'erbe en l'Archant, (4195)
A la fontaine dont li dois sont bruant.

Guillaume rides out on Folatise to meet Aïmer le Chétif and does him special honor, because he never left the pagans in repose.

Guillaume and all his family present now have supper in the palace.

Renoart comes in from the kitchen with his tincl. Aïmer takes a special interest in him and sits beside him at table. The knights get Renoart drunk, in which condition he throws the chef into the fire.

Renoart says that Deramé is his father,

Si est mes niés Tiebaus (4390).

He states (line 4397) that he has fifteen brothers. He names ten of them (lines 4392-4396). The last brother named is, "Morgans li faés."

Asked by Guillaume if he had a sister, Renoart replies:

Oïl, vers la marine
Si ai un roi et une suer cosine. (4470)

Questioned again by Guiborc as to who he is, Renoart prefers to keep the secret until he has returned from battle.

Guillaume is in haste to start to attack the enemy,

Car en l'Archant se vaurra repairier. (4478)
En Alischans s'en vaurra repairier. (4485)

Guiborc gives Renoart an invulnerable coat of mail and helmet and a sword six feet long and a handbreath wide, which had belonged to Corsuble, the nephew of Haucebier.

It is at the suggestion of Renoart (lines 4664-4666) that the pagans are fleeing out of their reach, that Guillaume orders the army to assemble. Guiborc watches from Gloriete as the army rides away.

There is now a repetition of the forgetting of the tinel by Renoart. It is "Guion, le fil Fouchier" (line 4714), who goes back for it, and it is brought on a wagon. The army stops meanwhile.

Next morning, when Renoart awakes, he finds the house on fire. The army has left him behind. He overtakes the army and has gone nearly a league before he thinks of his tinel. He rushes back for it, finds it only slightly scorched and now very hard. Pell-mell he dashes after the army again in his bare feet.

But now the French army is close to the battlefield.

Un val avale, s'a un tertre montée,
Aliscans voient et toute la contrée,
Et de paiens si grant ost asssemblée.

There follows an account of the divisions of the French army and their leaders. The troops of Aïmer le Chétif wear lattered armor, because of their many battles with the pagans,

Dedens Espaigne, à Saint Marc de Venis.

Bertran and six others are prisoners on a Saracen ship. Immediately after this statement we learn with reference to the troops of Bernard, in the line which closes the *laisse*:

Li tomoniers les guie. (4931)

Deramé looks

Droit vers Orenge (4958)

and sees the French army approaching.

Among the Saracen leaders are Deramé, Haucebier, Sinegon, Mauduit de Rame, Baudus d'Aumarie, son of Aiquin. There are said to be ten divisions.

The following lines refer to Guillaume's captivity under Sinagon:

La tierce esciele à Sinagon carchie. (5076)
(Cil) ot Guillaume maint jor en sa baillie
Dedens Palerne, en sa tor segnorie.

It is said that the most renowned king in the Saracen army is Baudus,

Aumacor de Valfondée,

Nies Rainouart, flex de s'antain l'aisnée,
Ki d'Oriende est roïne clamée.

Aïmer rides Florentin (line 5166). He cuts off Baudus' hand, then pursues him to the Saracen tents and cuts off his head (line 5193).

Florentin is killed and Aïmer captured. He is rescued by Guillaume and other members of his family. Here occurs a passage containing fine praise of Guillaume as the best of his line.

"Rois Sinagons" "de Palerne" is fighting "Devers l'Archant" (line 5247).

With line 5251 Renoart enters actively into the battle.

Renoart finds the Christian captives imprisoned on a Saracen ship. Bertran tells Renoart that he has been a prisoner four months.

Païen m'ont pris .iiii. mois a passés. (5370)*

Renoart releases Bertran (lines 5381—) and the other prisoners (lines 5401-5414), and brings them out of the ship.

It is stated that the enemy cover

Et la marine et trestout li Archant. (5417)

The Saracens are one hundred to one. Not a single Christian would have escaped but for God and Renoart. Renoart saves Guillaume's life and kills king Margot de Bocident, who wielded a great flail (lines 5756-5759). He was Renoart's cousin (line 5769). Like several other Saracen leaders, Margot is clothed in leather. He has a helmet "de quir d'olifant" (line 5757).

Deramé wounds Gaudin and threatens Guillaume. He says that Guillaume will never issue alive from the Archamp (line 5929). Addressing Guillaume, he declares:

Perdu avez Vivien le vaillant;
Desoz cel arbre gist mort sor .i. estant (5932)
A la fontaine dont li doit sont bruiant.

In single combat Guillaume strikes Deramé from his horse with Joieuse and would have killed him, but for his rescue by twenty thousand of the enemy.

Renoart kills the ugly dwarf, king Agrapart (lines 6049), and also Crucados, who wields a great mace and whose sons fight with flails.

*NOTE. In the Guessard edition of *Aliscans*, line 5336 and line 5337 are both numbered 5336. Therefore, from the top of page 161 on, the number is everywhere one unit short. In my own numbering I have corrected this error. T. E. H.

Now follows Renoart's great fight with Walegrape, who wields a "croc." He has stolen Renoart's tincl, during Renoart's laughable attempt to ride a horse. Walegrape is protected by a leather helmet (line 6236).

Fort fu la pel de vielle antiquité. (6269)

Asked by Walegrape who he is, Renoart replies :

Renoars sui, et d'Espaigne sui nez; (6360)

Mi peres est le fort roi Desramez,

Et est mis oncles Tiebaut li biaux armez.

Among his brothers are

Boreax et Maltriblez

Et Valegrapes, ce cuit est li ainz nez. (6368)

A Monloon fui d'Espaigne amenez. (6373)

Rois Loéis ert à Saint Jaque alés;

Là m'acheta .c. mars d'argent pesez.

En la cuisine ai bien .vii. anz esté.

After a fight, the account of which is greatly prolonged, Renoart finally kills Walegrape. He then repents of the deed, because he has killed his eldest brother.

Renoart kills Grishart "d'oltre l'Isle Perdue." His sister is Florechaux,

C'est cele dame qui porte cele fax. (6490)

Renoart engages in a terrifying duel with this frightful Amazon. She is fifteen feet tall, is clothed in "cuir de bugle," and wields the great scythe, "la fauz" (lines 6517-6519). Renoart kills her with the tincl (lines 6576, 6577).

In a combat with his father, Deramé, Renoart breaks several of his father's ribs. And afterward he fears that such a deed cannot be atoned for.

When very hard pressed by the Saracens, Renoart is rescued by the arrival of Guillaume,

Et Aymeris, et tuit li .v. enfant.

King Haucebier now comes from the ships with fresh troops.

Granz fu et forz, quinze piez mesurez,
Tint un espié qui est grant et quarrez;
D'un (mal) serpent fu tot envenimez. (6677)

Renoart kills Haucebier and in so doing breaks his tinel in two pieces (lines 6749-6758).

Renoart now kills with the sword

Goulias qui tenoit Balesguez. (6772)

He is astonished at the execution of so small a weapon, and says:

Ceste arme entre souef; (6775)
Bien ait la dame qui la me ceint au lez.
.....
Dist Renoars: 'Moult me mervell, par Dé,
Si petite arme qui a tel poesté.' (6788)

The Saracens are defeated and flee to their ships (line 6792) but Renoart has ruined all the ships except one.

Fors un tot seul qui en est eschapez;
En cel entra li froz rois Desramez. (6800)

Deramé and Huré sail away.

Ens en sa nef encacha Desramé;
Par mer s'en fuit, or est à saveté. (6830)

Que leur cemin ont en la mer trové;
De ci à Cordes ne se sont aresté. (6816)

King Baudus seeks Renoart, to avenge his uncle (line 6823). He is of immense size and strength and is armed with a club. He says:

Je m'en irai là val joste cel gué.
Molt par s'en va grant pas la sabloniere
Lés la marine, droit selonc la riviere. (6863)

Baudus falls in with Renoart. They tell each other who they are. They are cousins. Baudus' aunt married Deramé, the father of Renoart (lines 6896, 6897, 6936). Baudus tells Renoart that he has hunted for him all over the battlefield and Renoart replies:

A vos iex le véés;
Je sui icieux vassaus ke vos querés.

There follows a long drawn out narration of the fight between Renoart and Baudus. A horseman, in reporting the fight to Guillaume, says:

Rainouart vi desous cel pin ramé,
De là cel tertre, aval desous cel gué, (7006)
Où se combat á un si grant malfé,
De lui es graindres un grant pié mesuré.

When Guillaume and his brothers ride to the relief of Renoart, it is stated that,

N'i a celui ki n'a forment juré
Jusqe en Espaigne ne seront aresté. (7014)

Renoart defeats Baudus, who calls for mercy. He wishes to go to Orange and then to be baptized. By agreement, Baudus first sails home, to get his wounds healed (lines 7370).

The French gather great booty, and encamp.

En Alischans ont fait tendre leur trés.

But before midnight the army is routed out by Renoart.

Isnelement vont ensamble monter.
Li quens ala Vivien regarder (7364)
Desor l'estanc, là le porra trover.
Li quens l'a fait en deux escus serrer
Et desous l'arbre belement enterrer.

The French now return to Orange.

Dusqe à Orenge ne varent arester. (7499)
Grans fu la presse à la porte passer,
Plus de .L. i véissiés pasmer.
Ens el palais fu Guillames li ber,
En Gloriete fait on l'aige corner,
Cil chevalier vont ensamble laver. (7504)

Guillaume neglects to invite Renoart to dinner and there follows the scene of the wrath of Renoart. Renoart asserts that it is through him that Guillaume has won the battle and that his seven nephews have been liberated. He has killed his own relatives for the sake of Guillaume (lines 7516-7519). He returns "Vers Aliscans" (line 7525) saying that, as the son of Deramé, he is of higher rank than Guillaume (lines 7535-7538). He threatens the life of Guillaume and his brothers. He will return to Mohammedanism, gather an army of one hundred thousand men, capture Orange, cast out Louis, become master of France, and marry Aelis. The twenty thousand knights sent by Guillaume to bring him back are themselves driven back by Renoart. Guillaume then rides after him, with Aimeri, all of Guillaume's brothers, Guiborc, and one hundred knights.

Dame Guiborc i fait li quens aler
Qu'il n'i osa li quens sans li errer.

They find Renoart, "En une nef au rivage de mer." There follows a very amusing account of his unsuccessful attempt to navigate.

Diable font, fait il, homme meller,
Quant il ne set de chose achiver.
Par terre irai quant je ne puis par mer.

Renoart repeats his threats to Guillaume's face and menaces him with a post, which he has torn out from a building. Guillaume is much afraid of him. It is solely at the appeal of Guiborc that Renoart relents. He acknowledges that he is her brother (line 7797). For her sake, he pardons Guillaume, and all return to the palace in peace.

Renoart is now seated next to Guillaume at table and served with honor, but he is much bored and would have preferred to be in the kitchen or stable.

Ne serra mais des mois, s'il puet à table,
Car forment li anoie. (7873)

A laisse now follows which foretells the life of Renoart. He will be baptized, will marry Guillaume's niece, Aelis, will be knighted, and later will conquer Loquiferne, the dowry of his mother (lines 7811-7819). He will be crowned, will become a monk, and his club will be deposited at Bride, where anyone can see it. Later he will again fight for Guillaume, in which battle he will contend against his own son (lines 7823-7835).

Et puis l'ala quens Guillames rouver
Por sa cité garandir et tenser. (7830)
Adont convint Rainouart asener
Contre son fil à bataille capler
Que on faisoit Maillefer apeler.

Renoart is now baptized. Those present are Guillaume, Aimeri, Bernard, Boeve, Aïmer, Ernaut, Guibert, Bertran, Guichart, and Gui (lines 7922-7926). Guillaume knights Renoart and makes him his seneschal. In the description of the arming of Renoart occur the lines:

Puis vest l'auberc, tout de fin or safrés;
A double maaïlle est laciés et trie[ulés],
Dix ans i mist au faire Antiquités, (8004)
Chou fu un maïstres qui (fu) des ars parés.

El cief li lacent un vert elme jemés
Qui fu Glotaire, sel fist Matusalés,
Cil qui vesqui neuf cent ans par aés.

At the request of Guiborc, Renoart displays his great prowess in arms by riding against armor set on five posts and smashing through everything.

François s'escrient: Chi a bon chevalier;
Ainc tel ne furent Rollant ne Olivier.

Baudus now arrives, in accordance with his promise. He and his followers are baptized.

There is great rejoicing at Orange.

Dedens Orenge fisent joie molt grant
Quens Aimeris et trestot si enfant. (8154)

At the command of Guillaume, Ernaut and Bernard go to Paris, to bring Aelis for her marriage with Renoart. She will be mistress of Spain. On the way they lament for Vivien,

Que il ocirrent en l'Archant sor la mer. (8192)

When they reach Paris, king Louis asks them:

Com il l'ont fait en Alischans sor mer. (8213)

The ambassadors say to Louis, speaking of Renoart:

Se il ne fust, bien l'os dire et conter,
Tous fuisiens mort en fin sans escaper. (8227)

And it is further said of Renoart:

Rois ert d'Espaigne, et roi Tiebaut l'aufage (8240)
Destruira il, s'il vit en son éage,
Fors que ans deux les testes.

The king consents to the marriage and sends Aelis to Orange. She and Renoart are married (lines 8296-8299).

After the marriage, it is stated that,

Li quens li a Torserose dounée (8317)
Et Porpaillart ki siet sor mer salée,
Iluec si est mainte nés arrivée.

.....
Mais, ains que isse de l'an la terminée,
Aura (Tiebaus) si Orenge atornée,
Le palais ars et la terre gastée,
N'i aura tour, tant soit grans ne quarrée, (8325)
Que à perire ne soit acraventée.

Car Desramés à ja la mer passée,
 De vingt langages a la gent assablée,
 De chà venra ains qu' erbe soit fenée.
 Rois Desramés a sa barbe jurée (8330)
 Qu'il ne laira por noif ne por gelée,
 S'aura Guillaume l'arme dou cors sevrée,
 Et Guibors ert à cevaus trainée,
 Après sera en la mer affondrée,
 Une grant pierre entor le col noée. (8335)
 Mais toute en ert sa barbe parjurée,
 Car Rainouars i fu à l'encontrée.

The jongleur announces a "chançon enluminée," of Renoart's war.

Vers Loquifer d'outre la mer salée.

Aimeri and his sons now depart from Orange. Some go to Paris. Aimeri returns to Narbonne, Ernaut to Geronde, Guibert to Andernas, "Et en Barbastre Bueves de Commarcis" (line 8378). Bernard goes to Braibant, "Et en Espaigne Aimers li caitis." Guillaume remains at Orange and with him Bertran, Girart, Gui, Gautier de Termes, Hunaut, Gaudin le Brun, who is not yet recovered from his wound in the chest.

The *Chanson d'Aliscans* closes with a third announcement of a "chançon" of Renoart's great battle and victory over Loquifer, and his conquest of Loquiferne:

Et le rolame à son oes aquita,
 Et i porta coroune. (8436)

END OF ALISCANS

Notes on *Aliscans*

The most noticeable thing about the beginning of *Aliscans* is that it seems to be truncated. It begins in the midst of things, in the midst of the great battle of *Aliscans*, in which Vivien loses his life and Guillaume suffers an overwhelming defeat. The opening lines of the chanson:

A icel jor ke la dolor fu grans
Et la bataille orible en Alicans,
Li quens Guillaumes i soufri grans ahans,

were in all probability not the original beginning. There will be occasion to refer to these lines again, when the *Chevalerie Vivien* is taken up. It seems clear that the primitive commencement of the *Chanson d'Aliscans* is gone; and the attempt will be made to show later that this lost beginning was afterward supplied, though probably in altered form, by the *Chevalerie*.

In treating the subject matter of the *Chanson d'Aliscans*, it will be compared particularly with its prototype, the *Willame*.

The opening laisses of *Aliscans* are not so short as those of the *Willame*, which indicates a later period for *Aliscans*. Both mention the Archamp on the first page, and both soon mention Deramé. The earlier lines of *Aliscans* are much more like those of the *Chevalerie*. In the *Willame* the short refrain at the ends of the laisses is almost invariably the same, "Lunsdi al uespre;" in *Aliscans* it changes with each laisse. In form it is always what is called "le petit vers."

The entire first part of the *Willame*, including what appertains to Tedbald and Estormi, is wanting in *Aliscans*. The *Willame* may be said to commence at the beginning of the action, whereas at the commencement of *Aliscans* the battle is at its height.

The momentary retreat of Vivien and his consequent penitence for having broken his covenant are probably later altera-

ons. This idea is strengthened by the fact that, when Guillaume reports to Guiborc⁶ the conduct of Vivien, he assures her that Vivien did not retreat a single foot.

Sor tous les autres le fist miex Viviens
 Car ainc ne fu por Sarrasins fuians
 Par nule force .i. plain pié reculans.

In the *Willame* Vivien maintains his vow intact. The remanieur of *Aliscans* succeeded in giving Vivien a touch of human weakness which appeals to the sympathy of the reader. It is an art posterior to the simple story of the *Willame*.

The statement that Vivien begins to fall back when he is fighting toward the sea and is attacked by an army of one hundred thousand men agrees with the *Storie Nerbonesi*, Book 6, in which Vivien, who has driven the Saracens who landed at Tortosa to their ships, sounds the retreat, when he is suddenly assailed by one hundred thousand men under Tibaut and Maltribol, part of the corps from Valencia.

The capture of seven cousins of Vivien—Bertran, Guichart, Girart, Guielin, Huon, Gautier, Gaudin—is a later touch than the capture of five cousins in the *Willame* C.

Aliscans fully agrees with the *Willame* in regard to Vivien dying under a tree, on the bank of a stream or fountain, and near the sea. The fact is referred to many times.

Here Vivien is killed by Haucebier. In the *Willame* his slayer is nameless, which is an indication of the greater primitiveness of the *Willame*.

A very great difference between *Aliscans* and the *Willame* is that in *Aliscans* Guillaume is present in the battle where Vivien dies, whereas in the *Willame* he does not arrive until one or two days after the close of Vivien's battle.

⁶ *Aliscans*, ll. 1863-1865.

The statement that Guillaume in his flight would go by "val Sardaigne" may have some connection with the "terre certaine" of the *Willame*. It evidently refers to the territory of Cerdagne in the Pyrenees.

Guillaume's finding Vivien still living corresponds to C of the *Willame*. This incident is, however, far more reasonable in *Aliscans*. Here the death of Vivien has not been previously announced.

Vivien's confession to Guillaume of his sin in breaking the covenant is, like the deed itself, absent from the *Willame*.

The scene of the death of Vivien as told in *Aliscans* is one of the most touching in the whole realm of Old French literature. The language is beautiful and vies with the most pathetic passages in the *Roland*.

The scene between Guillaume and Aerofle (Alderufe) is similar in *Aliscans* and the *Willame* but there are a few minor differences. In *Aliscans* Aerofle has no difficulty in recognizing Guillaume. His offer to spare Guillaume, if the latter will surrender Guiborc and Orange, is not found in the *Willame*. The fine steed of Aerofle is named in *Aliscans* Folatille (line 1350), in the *Willame*, Florescele (line 2150). In *Aliscans* Guillaume does not decapitate Guiborc's horse, but takes off its harness and lets it go free, which is an agreeable change. A link which is missing in the *Willame* is supplied in *Aliscans* by the direct statement that Guillaume not only took Aerofle's horse but also put on Aerofle's armor. His complete transformation is clearly expressed in the lines:

Il prist les armes, si s'en est conrées;
Le païen samble, quant il s'en fu armés. (1368)

The cause of his being afterward mistaken for Aerofle, which has to be inferred in the *Willame*, is thus perfectly clear in *Aliscans*.

In Guillaume's subsequent fight with Baudus the latter is not killed but is preserved for a rôle in later events. In *Foucon* and the *Nerbonesi* Guillaume kills him.

The porter's scene is similar in *Aliscans* and the *Willame C*. The statement that Guiborc is almost entirely alone in Orange, according to *Aliscans* and the *Willame*, differs from that in the *Nerbonesi*, in which twelve hundred wounded men are said to be in the city. In both *Foucon* and the *Nerbonesi* Guillaume enters Orange without parley. Also in the *Willame A*, he enters without parley into Barcelona. The fact that the city to which Guillaume flees is in the *Willame A*, Barcelona, instead of Orange, places this source anterior to all the others mentioned.

Guiborc's tests to prove Guillaume's identity—the freeing of the captives and the showing of the bunch on his nose—are much the same in *Aliscans* and the *Willame*, but the order of these incidents is reversed. In the *Willame* the number of Saracens in the band attacked by Guillaume is seven thousand, in *Aliscans* it is one hundred, contrary to the usual tendency to exaggeration in the later versions. In the *Willame* the number of captives is one hundred, in *Aliscans* two hundred are mentioned in addition to thirty women. Yet in line 2235 of *Aliscans* Guillaume mentions one hundred in all.

The fact that in this fight with the band of Saracens Guillaume uses the sword taken from Aerofle (line 1687) is in keeping with the statement, just before his fight with Aerofle, that Joieuse had been dulled.

When Orange is besieged, the Saracen army is under Tibaut, Maltribol (Maltriblez), Haucebier and others. King Josuez may be the same person referred to in connection with the capture of a Saracen standard by Bertran. The presence of Tibaut at Orange at this time agrees with *Foucon* and the *Nerbonesi*, but is contrary to the *Willame*, in which Tibaut is dead.

When Guiborc asks Guillaume in regard to Bertran, Guichart, Guielin, Gaudin de Pierelée, and Vivien, he informs her that all are slain. In her grief she entreats him to give her back Bertran, Guielin, Guichart, Gautier de Termes, Girart, Guine-man, Gaudin le Brun, Joseran, and Vivien. Guillaume's renewed assertion of their death is made in these words:

Dame, dist il, mort sont en Alischans,
Devers la mer, par devers les Archans. (1850)

And again, for the third time, he makes this declaration:

Mort sont mi home, n'en est nus escapans. (1872)

When, however, Guiborc inquires specifically if Bertran, Gaudin le Brun, Guichart, Gautier de Termes, Girart, and Guielin are killed, Guillaume suddenly contradicts his previous assertions by replying:

Nenil voir, dame, (ainçois) est cascuns vis;
En une nef les tienent paiens pris;
Mais mors i est Vivien li hardis, (1890)
Anchois i ving ke il fust defenis.

Why does Guillaume thus contradict himself? Why did he make the false assertions that all were killed? One might think that it is all done with the purpose of finally encouraging Guiborc by the knowledge that the case is not so bad as at first reported. This would be, to say the least, a peculiar method of breaking bad news to an interested person, indeed just the opposite of that ordinarily followed. Or, one might say that Guillaume is so dejected and mentally overwhelmed by his crushing disaster that he refuses at first to acknowledge any ameliorating circumstances and represents the case in as gloomy a light as possible. There may be, however, some deeper reason for his self contradiction. His first statements that all are slain seem to reflect the story of A in the *Willame*, in which all of the nephews who

took part in the battle, namely Vivien, Girart, and Guichart, lost their lives. These conflicting assertions of Guillaume look like relics of several different versions which have remained side by side.

Guiborc advises Guillaume to seek aid from his brother-in-law, Louis (line 1913), and from his parents, Aimeri and Ermengart de Pavie.⁷ Here the king is said to be at St. Denis, in the *Willame* he is at Laon (line 2423), another indication of the greater age of the *Willame*.

The occasional cognomen of Guillaume as "Fierebrace" or "Brachefier" may be explained by the size and strength of his arms, as indicated in line 2021:

Grans fu Guillames, s'ot la brache quarrée.

And so in line 2346:

Et gros les bras, les pons quarrés en son.

Also line 2742. Another cause was perhaps the prompt and terrible execution of his arm, of which so many instances are given.

It has already been noticed that the original characterization of Guillaume's nose was, as in the *Willame*, "curb nies" or nez courbé, for which the expression "cort nes" in *Aliscans* and elsewhere is a mistake. So universal had this latter idea become that writers went out of their way to show that his nose had been shortened. In the *Couronnement de Louis* (lines 1028-1035), part of his nose is cut off in the duel with the giant Corsolt, which is to decide the fate of the city of Rome. The same story is repeated in the *Charroi de Nîmes* (lines 134-149). There seems to be a close connection between the ideas of the short nose and of the bunch or "boce" so often referred to. For it is in this same fight with Corsolt that the bunch is said to have been received. When Guillaume has removed his helmet,

⁷ Cf. *Nerbonesi*, I. 403.

to prove his identity to Guiborc, it is stated in the Guessard text of *Aliscans* (lines 4073-4076), speaking of Guiborc:

Voit sor le nés la boce aparissant
 Ke li ot fait Isorés de Monbrant,
 Très devant Rome en la bataille grant; (4075)
 Li quens l'ocist si kel virent .vii. cent.

For "Isorés" in this passage the manuscript of Boulogne has "Coursaut;" the manuscript of Berne and manuscript L have "Codroes." The identification with Corsolt seems to be fairly clear. In the *Willame* Guiborc says that Guillaume received this bunch "De la bataille Tebald lescler" (line 2311). In the *Willame* the conception that Guillaume had a curved nose and a bunch on the nose appear to be contemporary. The curved nose was later said to be a short nose, but the idea of the bunch persisted.

Several incidents of Guillaume's ride to see the king have been changed in *Aliscans*. In the *Willame* C, Guillaume has as his squire during this journey the young lad, under fifteen, who was mentioned by Guiborc when Guillaume reached Orange from the battlefield. In *Aliscans* Guillaume makes the trip alone. In the *Willame*, Guillaume goes directly to Laon, whereas in *Aliscans* he goes first to Orléans. His hostile reception there may partly be accounted for by the fact that he wears Saracen armor and therefore might not be recognized by the populace. It should be remembered, however, that Orléans was the city of Arneïs the traitor, who opposed the coronation of Louis and for that reason had been killed by Guillaume in the very presence of Charlemagne.⁸ Orléans would therefore be naturally hostile to Guillaume. The fact that Ernaut, the brother of Guillaume, after he learns of the havoc wrought in Orléans by the strange knight, who rides the largest horse ever seen (Folatise or Fola-

⁸ Cf. *Couronnement de Louis*, II. 99-133.

tille, captured from Aerofle), overtakes Guillaume and does not recognize him until Ernaut has been struck from his horse, tends to confirm the former supposition that Guillaume was so disguised by his Saracen armor and horse, that no one recognized him and consequently that the hostility displayed was only because of his suspicious appearance and reckless violence. But here again there may be, under the surface, a hidden reference to Arneïs; for it is known that in some sources Arneïs (Ernaïs) is called Ernaut.⁹ The entire episode of Orléans is therefore capable of two interpretations, of which the more primitive may be read between the lines.

Aliscans agrees with the *Willame C*, that Guillaume has returned from the Archamp. In both poems Guillaume tells of the death of Vivien and the imprisonment of Bertran. *Aliscans* mentions also Girart and Gui (line 2427); the *Willame C* mentions Gautier de Termes, Renier, Guielin, and Guichart.

The statement that the Saracens have sworn a seven year siege of Orange (line 2434) may be a reminiscence of the Long Siege. Lines 2433, 2434 of *Aliscans* are practically identical with lines 2492, 2493 of the *Willame*.

In marked contrast with Guillaume's friendly reception by the king in the *Willame*, is the hostile and bantering attitude of Louis in *Aliscans*. In the latter poem there is indicated at this time almost universal hostility toward Guillaume. It was manifested at Orléans; and now at Paris the same spirit is shown by the king and all connected with the royal household. Guillaume is represented as feared but not loved. Jealousy and hatred meet him on the street and in the palace. It is largely because of the low ebb of his fortunes that he is slighted, and he finds himself reduced almost to the last resort—an appeal to the sword.

⁹ Cf. *Charroi de Nîmes*, ll. 170-175.

In the scene of the wrath of Guillaume, the queen wears the crown. Guillaume had been told (lines 2550, 2551), that she was to be crowned by the king that day, though there has been no account of her actual coronation at this time. And later she confesses to Aelis (lines 2834-2835) that it was Guillaume who had raised her to that exalted station and had placed the crown on her head.¹⁰ The statement that the king is to crown Blancheflor, seems to have little supporting evidence. It is possibly a relic from some earlier tradition.

The presence of Guibelin at this time is contrary to the *Nerbonesi*, in which he was killed at the Long Siege of Orange.

Guillaume's reflection that he has not seen his mother in seven years (line 2632) takes the place of the statement in the *Willame* (line 2507) that the king has not seen Guillaume in seven years. One might think that this referred to the period when Guillaume was confined in Orange by the Long Siege. According to the *Nerbonesi*, however, Louis was present at the raising of that siege. And since that time have occurred the events of Vivien's conquest of Aragon, related differently in the *Nerbonesi* and the *Chevalerie*. In the *Chevalerie* this period is seven years.¹¹ According to both accounts in the *Nerbonesi*, Guillaume took an active part in this conquest of Aragon and then returned to Orange. The seven years may therefore refer to this latter period.

¹⁰ In this connection we cite, according to the *Nerbonesi*, the command of Charlemagne to Guillaume that, after the seven years of the regency, he shall crown Louis and give him Guillaume's sister to wife. Cf. *Narbonnais*: 7782-7794, 7813ss; also Philippe Mousket, 12, 169-12,175.

¹¹ MS. of Boulogne, fol. 82, vo.

Guillaume's reflection that he is old (line 2633) corresponds with the usual conception of him at this stage of his career and is in harmony with the *Willame*.¹²

The famous and terrible scene of the wrath of Guillaume is still more forcible in *Aliscans* than in the *Willame*. It is one of the great and masterly scenes of the Old French epics. His insults to the queen begin earlier in *Aliscans* than in the *Willame* and are at first caused by her failure to notice him, but before her verbal opposition. In *Aliscans*, where the queen speaks only three lines when opposing the acquiescence of the king to Guillaume's demands, she makes no reference to Guiborc. In the *Willame* her speech, which occupies seven lines, is largely aimed at Guiborc, who seems to have the special animosity of the queen. She evidently disapproved of her brother's marriage to a Saracen woman. Guillaume's wrathful reply, which occupies twenty-seven lines in each poem, though extremely insulting to the queen, is not quite so objectionable in *Aliscans* as in the *Willame*. His connecting the queen with "Tiebaus d'Arrabe"¹³ is plainly a mistake for Tedbald de Berri, as in the *Willame*. It is not reasonable to suppose that she was acquainted with Tibaut; whereas the *Willame* gives unmistakable evidence of some connection between Tedbald de Berri and the family of Guillaume. The rôles of Tedbald and Estormi are wholly lacking and apparently forgotten in *Aliscans*. When Guillaume chides his sister for forgetfulness of him and his men, suffering "en estrange contrée, Dedans Orenge," we are reminded that in his day Orange was not in France proper—the Ile de France. The idea that Guillaume was a northern man, to whom the Midi was in fact a "strange country" is expressed forcibly in the *Charroi de Nîmes*, where he first journeys southward to capture

¹² Cf. *Aliscans*, l. 1009; *Willame*, ll. 1333, 1334.

¹³ *Aliscans*, ll. 2773, 2774.

Orange and Nîmes. In the above reference of Guillaume in *Aliscans*, the Guillaume of the *Couronnement* and of the first portion of the *Charroi* seems to be speaking—the Guillaume who in the *Charroi* becomes identified with Guillaume d'Orange. However, in the *Willame C*, the original reference was to the Archamp in Spain. Guillaume goes further in actual violence in *Aliscans* than in the *Willame*. In the *Willame* he draws his sword only partway from the scabbard (line 2624), whereas in *Aliscans* he hurls the queen's crown to the floor, draws his sword, and is about to decapitate her. In the *Willame* it is Guillaume's father who restrains him, but in *Aliscans* it is said that no man could have checked his sword.

Ja par nul homme ne li fust devêé(e). (2804)

Accordingly it is here Ermengart who plays the rôle of peacemaker. There is in *Aliscans* a distinct tendency to exalt the mother of the Narbonnais. Not until assured by the king that he shall receive aid, does Guillaume sheathe his sword (line 2955). The amiable reconciliation of Guillaume and Blancheflor,¹⁴ which follows in *Aliscans*, is not found in the *Willame*.

After the banquet, the king seems to change his mind and, when questioned by Guillaume, defers until next day his decision whether or not he will go to the aid of Orange. Again angered, Guillaume renounces his allegiance. In the *Willame* he does this during the first outbreak of the quarrel. The fact that this act of renouncing fealty is in *Aliscans* separated from the first phase of the strife and that here there are two distinct outbreaks shows the work of remanieurs. In *Aliscans* it is Ernaut (line 3000) who asks Guillaume to retain his fief. In the *Willame* it is

¹⁴ Cf. also Guillaume's compliment to the queen, when he says later to Louis:

Ne jou ne sai en nul sens esgarder
Où tu [péusses mellor feme trover]. (3110)

Reinald de Peiter, a nephew of Guillaume (lines 2540-2544). There seem to be no other references to this nephew. Consequently the allusion probably became, in the course of time, so obscure that Reinald was dropped altogether and a well known character, Ernaut, was substituted. This idea, if correct, would tend to strengthen the supposition that the reference to Reinald de Peiter as a nephew of Guillaume, is a relic from the connection of Guillaume, count of Poitiers, with the cycle.

When Louis agrees finally to order out an army, he says he cannot go in person "à ceste fois." Evidently he has gone on other occasions. In the *Enfances* he goes before this to the relief of Vivien at Maldrane (Luiserne), and in the *Nerbonesi* he goes to the relief of Orange at the end of the Long Siege. The army, when it is really assembled (lines 3143, 3305) numbers two hundred thousand men and is ten times the size of the corresponding army in the *Willame*.

■

Notes on the Renoart Portion of *Aliscans*

The Renoart portion of *Aliscans* may be considered as beginning with line 3148: "De la quisine voit Rainoart torner," where this strange hero enters upon the scene of action.¹⁵ As in the *Willame*, he becomes henceforth the all-absorbing figure. To him is given the leading rôle, and all other persons, even Guillaume, are so far eclipsed by him in deeds of war as to become decidedly secondary.

The Renoart portion of *Aliscans* occupies 5288 lines, or nearly two-thirds of the entire poem.

The king's statement (lines 3201, 3202) that Renoart would never tell him who his father was, is contrary to the assertion of Renoart in the *Willame* (lines 3537, 3538), where he says, speaking of the king:

& io li dis ne li celai nient
Que ere fiz Derame & ma mere Oriabel.

The beauty of Renoart is emphasized in *Aliscans*. The duration of his service in the royal kitchen is always said, both in *Aliscans* and the *Willame*, to have been seven years. The king's statement that he bought him "Desous Palerne" is in disaccord with the testimony of Renoart¹⁶ that Louis bought him at St. Jacques; with the *Enfances Vivien*, where he evidently buys him at Luiserne (or Maldrane); and with the *Nerbonesi*, in which

¹⁵ A prophecy of Renoart has previously been inserted. In lines 3003-3005 it is said that Aelis, the daughter of Louis, afterward married Renoart. And in a passage that follows this we are told that Renoart will kill the Saracen leader Haucebier and will deliver Bertan and seven other captives "En Aliscans." Later he killed Loquifer (line 3014) and established at Loquiferne a Christian church.

¹⁶ *Aliscans*, ll. 6373-6375.

Renoart comes to Paris of his own accord. In the *Willame* the place of the purchase is not mentioned, which indicates the greater primitiveness of this chanson. In *Aliscans* the king gives Renoart to Guillaume (lines 3287, 3288). In the *Willame* Guillaume has no conversation whatever with the king about Renoart, but deals with the latter directly. Indeed, in the *Willame* it is Renoart who offers his services. The making of a second club for Renoart as narrated in *Aliscans* is entirely lacking in the *Willame*. In *Aliscans* Renoart leaves the tincl behind on three occasions. Everywhere one sees the desire to multiply as much as possible his buffooneries and feats of strength. In fact the rôle of Renoart is everywhere expanded in *Aliscans* and a multitude of new adventures are attributed to him. The elaborate and even excessive development of this rôle indicates unmistakably its popularity. Into the details of the many adventures of Renoart there is no need to enter.

When the Christian army reaches Orange, they find that the Saracens have burned the city and that Guiborc and the other women have found refuge in the great square tower. The enemy has, however, withdrawn to the Archamp, in order to prepare engines of war with which to level the tower to the ground, for Deramé has sworn to wreak a terrible vengeance upon Guiborc (lines 3975-3997). When Guiborc catches sight of the French army, she thinks at first that it is the Saracen army,

Ki ja se fust de l'Archant retornée. (4024)

The unnaturalness of the above situation is evident. The Archamp seems, judging from *Foucon*, the *Chevalerie*, and the *Nerbonesi*, to have been near Tortosa in Spain. It would be absurd to think of the great Saracen army retiring such a distance in order to prepare engines of war with which to beat down a single tower, after they have already burned the city, and when no enemy was in sight. The passage in question seems like a

violent snatching of the Saracens away from Orange, so that they shall be in the Archamp at the time of the impending battle, in conformity with the older versions. However, the remanieur is apparently thinking here, not of Spain, but of some locality much nearer Orange, perhaps the ancient cemetery of Aliscans at Arles, about thirty miles south of Orange and on the Rhone. The name Aliscans undoubtedly comes from that large and celebrated burying-ground. At the time of our present redactions of the chanson of Aliscans the remanieurs had come to use the names Aliscans and Archamp interchangeably and had evidently forgotten that the Archamp was originally in Spain. A good example of how the words Archamp and Aliscans had at this time come to be synonymous is found in the following lines, which refer to Guillaume's haste to attack the enemy :

Car en l'Archant se vaurra repairier. (4478)

En Alischans s'en vaurra repairier. (4485)

Later, when Ernaut and Bernard go to Paris, they lament for Vivien,

Que il ocirrent en l'Archant sor la mer; (8192)

and when they reach Paris, the king asks them :

Com il l'ont fait en Alischans sor mer. (8213)

In *Aliscans*, Guiborc does not recognize Renoart, as she does in the *Willame*, but thinks him of high family.

Guillaume goes up into the palace and looks out at a window with Guiborc. He has not yet eaten,—

Encor n'est pas ses mangiers aprestés, (4126)

yet he at once sees the troops of his brother Ernaut approaching. As the city of Ernaut is Gerona, in north-eastern Spain, the impossibility of his having gone there from Orléans, assembled his army, and marched to Orange, in the same time in

which Guillaume went to Orange directly is obvious. While Guillaume and Guiborc are still watching, Aimeri and all his other sons arrive with their troops, including Aïmer, who probably has come a greater distance than Ernaut. This whole scene is here so unnatural, that it seems clearly out of place. It is in all probability a relic from the Long Siege of Orange, which is narrated in the *Nerbonesi*.¹⁷

It is said that,

Aimers li caitis;
Ciex prist la terre de Saint Marc de Venis
Sor les paiens d'Espaigne. (4180)

This reference to Venice is evidently an error for some Spanish conquest by Aimer. Mr. H. Suchier identifies St. Marc de Venis in the above passage with the Spanish town of Benisa near Denia.¹⁸ As these towns are in southeastern Valencia, however, they are somewhat removed from Aimer's usual field of operations, which is north-central Spain.

When Guiborc asks Renoart if he had a sister, he replies:

Oïl vers la marine
Si ai un roi et une suer cosine. (4470)

This ambiguous line (found thus only in manuscript *a*) would fit either the idea that Renoart and Guiborc are brother and sister, as in the *Willame*, or cousins, as in the *Nerbonesi*. Line 4476 says distinctly that he was her brother. Asked as to his parentage, Renoart prefers to keep the secret until after the battle, whereas in the *Willame* he states at once that he is the son of Deramé and Oriabel.

The sword given by Guiborc to Renoart, and which had belonged to Corsuble, the nephew of Haucebier, is six feet long

¹⁷ Cf. R. Weeks: *The Messenger in Aliscans*

¹⁸ *Romania*, XXXII. 370, 371.

and a handbreadth wide, the exact size of that carried by Corsolt in his fight with Guillaume.¹⁹ Corsolt and Corsuble may be the same man.

The strength test indulged in by the Narbonnais, when they attempt to raise the tinel of Renoart, establishes the physical superiority of Guillaume to the rest of his family and shows that Renoart is not in the class of ordinary men. His personal prowess is so far exalted as to make that of even the principal hero of the cycle, Guillaume himself, seem small in comparison.

The time taken by the army in riding from Orange to the Archamp or Aliscans seems to have been one day and part of another, with a night of rest intervening.

We are told that Bertran and six others are imprisoned on a Saracen ship, yet immediately after this statement it is said of the troops of Bernard:

Li tomoniers les guie. (4931)

The timonier is Bertran, who is in prison. He cannot then be leading the troops. The inconsistency of the *laisse* is striking. The quoted line is probably a relic from some older version, in which Bertran is not imprisoned.²⁰

The statement that Deramé looks "Droit vers Orenge" (line 4958) and sees the French army approaching is another indication that the poet conceives that the battlefield is not far removed from that city.

Baudus, a Saracen king, is given a conspicuous rôle in the Renoart portion of *Aliscans*. In *Foucon*, Guillaume kills Baudus in his flight after the defeat in the Archamp.²¹ In *Aliscans* Baudus takes an active part in the second battle of Guillaume upon

¹⁹ Cf. *Couronnement de Louis*, ll. 634, 635.

²⁰ Cf. *Foucon de Candie*, where Bertran is himself the rescuer of the other prisoners.

²¹ MS. Brit. Mus., fol. 261, ro.

that field. In a fight with Aimer he loses a hand, flees to the Saracen tents, and is there decapitated (line 5193). He appears again in the action in line 5324. Later there is a formidable conflict in which he is defeated by Renoart and afterward goes to Orange, where he is baptized. Another case of seeming resuscitation is that of Milon, unless there are supposed to be two of this name. In line 5161 Milon is killed by Baudus; and in line 5458 a Milon is killed by a "Turc." There is here the anomalous situation of two dead men brought to life, one of whom had killed the other. Such accounts, which seem like an intentional bringing of the dead to life for the purpose of using them in further adventures, may be merely due to a connecting of two different versions.

When the Christian leaders use as battle cries the names of their cities, Boeve, instead of using the name Commarcis (Comarchis) which is almost universally referred to as his city, employs the name Barbastre²² (line 5134). The reason for these differences is that according to the *Siège de Barbastre* Boeve captures this city.²³

When the prisoners are liberated by Renoart, all had been, according to *Aliscans*, confined on a single ship. In the *Willame* Bertran is in one ship, the other captives in another. In *Aliscans* they are seven in number, namely: Bertran, Guielin, Guichart, Gaudin le Brun, Hunaut, Gautier de Termes, Girart de Commarcis (lines 5347-5353).²⁴ In the *Willame* A, there are no prisoners; in B there are five. One is apt to be surprised that Bertran has been a prisoner four months.

²² Cf. Boeve's going to Barbastre, when all return to their cities, at the close of *Aliscans* (l. 8373).

²³ Bibl. Nat., MS. 1448, fol. 117, ro.

²⁴ I again call attention to the fact that in the Guessard text of *Aliscans* line 5336 is numbered twice. In my references I have corrected the numbering.

Palen m'ont pris .iiii. mois a passés. (5370)

One would hardly think that so much time had elapsed since Guillaume's flight from the Archamp.

Deramé, in threatening Guillaume, declares:

Perdu avez Vivien le vaillant;
Desoz cel arbre gist mort sor .i. estant, (5932)
A la fontaine dont li doit sont brulant.

One would judge from the word "cel" that the place is in sight of the speakers. The present tense of the verb "gist" indicates that Vivien is still lying where he perished. By combining this statement with that of Bertran (line 5370), it would seem that Vivien has remained there four months.

It is noticeable that the Saracens frequently carry strange weapons, such as maces, flails, hooks, scythes, bronze balls, et cetera, whereas the French use only lance and sword. A number of the Saracens are clothed in leather. Many, especially the relatives of Deramé, are of gigantic size; both Haucebie and Florechaux are said to measure fifteen feet in height. The evidence of line 6677 that Saracens used poisoned weapons may be compared with the suspicion, expressed in the *Nerbonesi*, that Aimer died of poisoned wounds.

Renoart, by killing Haucebie, and thereby breaking his tincl (lines 6749-6758), fulfills the prophecy of lines 368, 369. By this act he becomes the true avenger of Vivien, for it was at the hands of Haucebie that Vivien died (lines 354-380). In the *Willame* the tincl is broken in killing king Aildré (line 3303).

Renoart's delight at the execution of so small a weapon as a sword is expressed by very similar lines in *Aliscans* (lines 6775, 6776, 6787, 6788) and in the *Willame* (lines 3328, 3330).

In *Aliscans* (lines 6799, 6800) after the defeat of the Saracens, Deramé escapes in the only ship which Renoart has left in a navigable condition. It is clear that this one ship is thus pro-

vided by the remanieur in order that Deramé may be preserved for possible future exploits. In the *Willame* Deramé was slain in A; and in R all of the ships are ruined by Renoart (lines 3337, 3338). Moreover, in the *Willame* R, all of the Saracens are at this time slain or have fled,

..... un seul ne remeint mie. (3341)

In *Aliscans*, some of them remain, though routed.

When king Baudus seeks Renoart, he says that he will go down to the ford; and a little further it is said of him:

Molt par s'en va grant pas la sabloniere,
Lés la marine, droit selonc la riviere. (6863)

The ford is again mentioned in line 7006. These references might indeed be made to apply to the Rhone, but the primitive idea contained in them seems to be that it is either the Ebro or the brook of the Archamp. There is near Tortosa that combination of river and sea which is frequently suggested in the chansons and which is not found at Arles.

The reply of Renoart to Baudus, who says he has sought for him all over the battlefield:

A vos lez le véés;
Je sui icieux vassaus ke vos querés,

reminds one of the words of Roderick Dhu and Fitz James in Scott's *Lady of the Lake*.

When Guillaume and his brothers ride to relieve Renoart, who is hard pressed by the Saracens, it is stated that,

N'i a celui ki n'a a forment juré
Jusqe en Espaigne ne seront aresté. (7014)

This statement indicates clearly that the writer did not conceive that the battle was in Spain.

It is said that Baudus has "haut et corbe le nés"²⁵ (line 7264). The ideas high and curved, when applied to the nose, seem to agree.

Before the French army leaves the battlefield after the victory, Guillaume goes to the bank of the stream where Vivien is lying and has him buried beneath the tree and between two shields (lines 7364-7367). This is the seventh reference in *Aliscans* to Vivien on the bank of the stream. As before noted, Vivien has, according to the statement of Bertran (line 5370), lain under this tree for four months. Guillaume seems to know exactly where to look for Vivien. Indeed, judging from the speech of Deramé to Guillaume in *Aliscans* (lines 5931-5933), it would seem that the body of Vivien, or at least the tree under which he lay, was distinctly visible on the field of battle. Therefore the several battles of the Archamp or *Aliscans* seem to have occurred at the same place. The statement that Vivien was buried on the spot where he fell is contrary to the *Nerbonesi*, according to which Tibaut has him interred in a village church near by.

The extreme abruptness with which the French army is transported from the battlefield to Orange (lines 7499-7501) corresponds with the account in the *Willame*, R (lines 3346-3348).

At the baptism of Renoart there are present Aimeri, Guillaume, Bernard, Boeve, Aïmer, Ernaut, and Guibert, as well as Bertran, Guichart, and Gui (lines 7922-7926). A little later

Dedans Orenge fisent joie molt grant
Quens Aimeris et trestot si enfant.

²⁵ Cf. this combination with "Willame al curb nies" in the *Willame* and such expressions as "haut a le nés par deseur le gernon" (l. 2345) in *Aliscans*.

In several passages in *Aliscans* the seven sons of Aimeri are said to be taking part in battle. Garin, though but slightly indicated in *Aliscans*, is mentioned by name in manuscripts *m* and *d*.²⁶ Garin may have first been brought definitely into the family of Aimeri by Bertran de Bar-sur-Aube, the author of *Aimeri de Narbonne*, or possibly by the author of the *Enfances Vivien*.²⁷ In the *Nerbonesi*, Garin, Guibelin, and Aimer have been killed before the time corresponding to the close of *Aliscans*. In *Foucon* only three of the sons of Aimeri,—Guillaume, Bernard, and Boeve—are living; but there are indications that in the earlier redactions of this chanson Ernaut also figured, at least up to a certain point in the poem. The preservation in life of the entire family of Aimeri at the close of *Aliscans* is a strong indication that this portion of the poem is comparatively late.

The fact that the archbishop who officiated at the baptism of Renoart is Guillemers, whereas the archbishop at the baptism of Baudus, which follows almost immediately after, is Fouchier, may indicate that the two incidents were written at different periods. Probably the story of the baptism of Baudus is more recent. In *Foucon* Baudus is killed by Guillaume in his flight from the Archamp. In *Aliscans* Baudus and Guillaume have an encounter at that time, but Baudus is not killed. It has been noted how Baudus has been reintroduced into the action of *Aliscans* since the statement that he was slain by Aimer. There is therefore manifested in *Aliscans* a marked tendency to make continued use of Baudus throughout the action.

In *Aliscans* Renoart marries Aelis, the daughter of king Louis (lines 8296-8299). In the *Willame* he marries Ermen-trude (line 3499).

²⁶ Cf. Rolin: *Aliscans, Variantes*, pp. 71, 120.

²⁷ Cf. Cloetta: *Die Enfances Vivien*.

After the marriage, Guillaume gives Renoart cities in Spain.

Li quens li a Torserose dounée (8317)
Et Porpaillart, ki siet sor mer salée,
Iluec si est mainte nés arrivée.

The name Torserose is for Tortosa. It would seem from the connection here and elsewhere that Tortosa and Portpaillart were not far separated. It is the country of Vivien to which Renoart thus falls heir, as in the *Willame* (line 3500). As he is the special avenger of Vivien, the award seems just.

In a passage beginning with line 8324 is announced further war with Tibaut and Deramé, and another siege of Orange, which shall occur within the year. These two principal Saracen leaders are thus living at the close of *Aliscans* and planning new campaigns against Guillaume. This passage looks considerably like a repetition, with enlargements, of lines 3994-3997, which also tell how Deramé swears by his beard vengeance on Guiborc. The passage is probably a late insertion.

When Aimeri and his sons depart from Orange to return to their own homes, Boeve goes to Barbastre,—

Et en Barbastre Bueves de Commarcis. (8378)

Reference has already been made to this in connection with the fact that Boeve used the name Barbastre as his battle cry on the Archamp (line 5134). Both references are probably connected with Boeve's capture of Barbastre.

LES ENFANCES VIVIEN

LES ENFANCES VIVIEN

INTRODUCTION

The *Enfances Vivien* was probably written in its original form about 1170¹, after the writing of the present redaction of *Aliscans* and before that of the *Moniage Guillaume*, II. It exists to-day in eight manuscripts in verse, dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. There are also two versions in prose.

It was evidently in order to give to Vivien a brilliant boyhood and youth and perhaps to form an introduction to some earlier redactions of the *Chevalerie*² that the *Enfances* was written. It seems clear that the compiler of the *Enfances* did not know the *Chevalerie* as it exists to-day, inasmuch as the two chansons are repeatedly in disaccord. For example, according to the *Chevalerie*, Vivien has been cared for for seven years by Guiborc, which agrees with the tradition in *Aliscans*; whereas,

¹ L. Gautier (*Epopées Françaises*, IV) does not think the *Enfances Vivien* anterior to the 13th century. This belief he bases on the reference in MS. 1488, fol. 187 v^o., to the great battles toward Constantinople, which he concludes is an allusion to the capture of the city in 1204, during the Fourth Crusade. We do not, however, consider this significant, for the passage may refer to some earlier battle or it may be a late insertion. Nordfelt places the composition of the *Enfances* in the first quarter of the 13th century. G. Paris places it half a century earlier, *Romania*, 1890, p. 127. G. Paris and Cloetta agree in dating it between 1165 and 1170, Cloetta: *Die Enfances Vivien*, p. 96.

² Cloetta (*Die Enfances Vivien*, pp. 22, 23) does not think that the present endings of the manuscripts of the *Enfances* which lead up to the *Chevalerie* were in the original. But although this may be true, the general plan of the poem itself makes it an introduction to the *Chevalerie*.

in the *Enfances*, Vivien's foster mother is Mabile, wife of a Portuguese merchant, who appears in none of the other poems of the cycle. Mabile is probably a poetic creation of the author of the *Enfances*. It is likely, however, that this author was acquainted with an earlier version of the *Chevalerie* and with *Aliscans* and *Aimeri de Narbonne*.

The name of the author of the *Enfances* is unknown. His work seems to have been largely individual and independent. The fact that he writes of Vivien's boyhood and that he shows everywhere a desire to be definite in regard to the relationships of the heroes, indicates that his work is comparatively late.

The excellent edition of Wahlund and Feilitzen has been used in this study and the manuscript of Boulogne, manuscripts 1448 and 1449 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and manuscript 20 D, XI of the British Museum have, to some extent, been compared. As in the case of the other chansons, the Boulogne manuscript presents in the *Enfances Vivien* a version apart. It seems more consistent with itself and in some respects more primitive and more reasonable than that of the other manuscripts.³

The oldest portion of the *Enfances* is probably that which relates to the imprisonment of Garin. In most of the manuscripts he is said to have been captured at the battle of Roncevaux; in the manuscript of Boulogne he is taken prisoner while out hunting, evidently near Anséune. In the *Siège de Narbonne* it was on his return from Narbonne that he fell into the hands of the Saracens.⁴ In a Spanish romance, *Mala la visteis, Franceses*, Garin (Guarines) falls at Roncevaux into the hands of Marlotez, but later escapes.

³ Mr. Cloetta considers the version of MS. 1448 to be the oldest, but admits that the manuscript itself has been much worked over. Cf. *Die Enfances Vivien*, p. 96.

⁴ MS. 24369, anc. 23 La Vall., fol. 75 r^o.

A similar story to that in the *Enfances* is given in a poem entitled *Hervis de Metz*.⁵ This poem, which is of the thirteenth century, is probably an imitation of the *Enfances*.⁶

⁵ E. Stengel, *Gesellschaft für Romanische Literatur* I. Dresden, 1903.

⁶ This is the opinion of Nordfelt. See also L. Gautier: *Ep. Fr.*, IV. 414, 415.

Résumé of the *Enfances Vivien*

Garin d'Anseune and his men are hunting in the woods.⁷ He is the brother of Guillaume d'Orange, and married Ustase, daughter of a rich councillor of Charlemagne. He has a son Vivien, seven years of age. Vivien's maternal grandfather is Naimés; his paternal grandfather is Aimeri de Narbonne.

While he is returning along the seashore from the hunt, over twenty thousand Saracens disembark from their fleet. Mirados de Lujtis, a powerful king, is their leader. He is angry because his father, Chanart (line 204) had been killed by Naimés, and has sworn to take vengeance by killing Vivien. Garin is wounded and captured and all but one of his party are killed. This man escapes to Anseune and reports the calamity to Ustase. The news spreads through the country that Garin has been killed.

Questioned by Mirados, Garin says that he is a son of Aimeri and brother of Guillaume; that his wife is daughter of duke Naimés of Bavaria; and that he has one son, Vivien (lines 164-175). Mirados says that he came for Vivien. If Garin will deliver him, he will set Garin free, but Vivien will be put to death by torture. Garin says he prefers death himself. Thereupon he is taken into a ship and is carried to Maldrane. Here Garin offers a great ransom, but Mirados refuses.

After Garin has been tortured and reduced to desperation, he sends by a Saracen his ring and a message of his condition to Ustase at Anseune. Manuscripts 1448 and 1449 says that he traverses Navarre, Poitou, and Anjou.

When this envoy gives his message to Ustase, he says in all the metrical versions, except that of Boulogne, that Garin

⁷ The MS. of Boulogne has been used as the basis for this résumé, with variants from other manuscripts in verse.

was captured at the battle of Roncevaux in 778. Ustase does not believe the messenger and says that Garin is dead. She is convinced, however, upon presentation of the ring and also a silk pennon which Garin had captured at Narbonne.

There occurs here a pretty description of the boy Vivien, as he comes into the palace.

Ce fu li enfes tant mal ot endure
 Car il conquist les Archans dessus mer
 & Ardeluque (Bardeluque) les tours de Balesguez
 & Tortelouse & Porpaillart sor mer.^s

When Vivien learns of the plight of his father, he at once offers to go and give himself up that Garin may be set free.

Ustase goes now with Vivien and one hundred of her knights to appeal to king Louis at Paris. A great concourse is at court on account of the consecration of a bishop. Among those present are duke Boeve, Hernaut, Guibert, Aïmer le Chétif, "dant" Bernard de Braibant, and Guillaume au cort nes. Some of the manuscripts mention also Guielin, Gaudin le Brun, Guichart.

Ustase tells her message to the king and court. In the manuscript of Boulogne she says that Garin was captured while hunting, and has been carried to "mandrane sor mer" (line 303). In the other manuscripts he escapes "de la bataille" (line 292) and is "a Luiserne sor mer."

Guillaume expresses the opinion that Vivien should give himself up for his father, and to this the boy at once consents. Ustase and all her friends lament over the hard conditions.

Ustase reminds them of the great grief of France "en icest terme" (line 419) when Charlemagne was laid "a Ais a la chappelle," and continues,

Loeys ses filz li pros & li onestes, (425)
 estoit moult iones & enfes a cel terme,
 la grant corone li mist el chief Guillaume.

Ustase goes now, with Vivien, Bernard, Guillaume and one thousand men, in search of Garin. The manuscripts other than that of Boulogne mention also Guichart and Gautier de Termes as members of the expedition. They arrive at Maldrane, or Luiserne.

Mirados tells Vivien that the reason he is going to kill him is that if Vivien should live, he would kill Mirados (lines 451-453). And he adds:

encor me membre de mon pere Chanart
& de men oncle l'amiral Golias (502)
que tes lignages m'ocist desoz Baudas.

Garin is brought forth from the deep dungeon naked and fainting.

While preparations to torture Vivien are going on, he insults the pagans and declares (lines 531-534) that, if he lives to gird on a sword, the death of Roland will be avenged. When Vivien is thrown to the floor for this speech, Guillaume seizes from the fire a glowing pair of tongs with which he kills the guilty pagan. A general fight ensues. The Franks are, however, obliged, with great sorrow, to take leave of Vivien and to depart. Vivien is now stripped and tied to a round pillar, while a dart is being heated with which to torture him.

But Garin and the others had not gone half a league, when king Bramon (manuscript of Boulogne), or Gormont (other manuscripts), with his army of thirty thousand pagans, captures the city. Mirados becomes a vassal of Bramon or Gormont. Vivien is left bound by his tormentors, who flee for their own safety. One of the invading force unties him and leads him down to the seashore, where the merchants resort. Here Vivien is sold to Mabile, wife of Godefroi, a merchant of Portugal, living at "Galides" (manuscript of Boulogne) or "Salindre" (other manuscripts).

Mabile takes Vivien to her home in Portugal and passes him for her own son. Godefroi tries in vain to teach Vivien the trade of a merchant. Vivien says he must be capturing cities and castles and killing pagans.

All the metrical versions except that of Boulogne give now the prophecy of Vivien's future. The manuscript of the British Museum has :

qui puis conquest l'Archant dessuz la mer (892)
& Bargelone la tour de Balesguez.

When Vivien is recalling to mind his relatives, only the manuscript de Boulogne mentions his grandfather, "duc Namlon le barbe" (line 918).

After various unsuccessful attempts to train Vivien as a merchant by sending him to fairs, Ustase induces Godefroi to send him to a great fair "à Maldrane sor mer" (manuscript of Boulogne) or Luiserne (other manuscripts). Four hundred men accompany Vivien in a good ship.

Arrived at Maldrane (or Luiserne), Vivien incites his men, who are armed, to attack the citizens. One thousand of the latter are killed. The emir sends for Vivien to come to see him in the tower.

Vivien now assembles his merchants and makes known to them his true parentage. He says that his father is Garin d'Anséune and his mother is lady Ustase, the daughter of Naimes.⁹ The other manuscripts omit this. In line 1796 Vivien says that the king of France has married Vivien's aunt.

Vivien and his men respond to the summons of the emir and, when the latter accuses Vivien of massacring the citizens, and threatens his life for it, Vivien kills him.

⁹ MS. of Boulogne, ll. 1791-1795.

Vivien and the merchants now defeat the Saracen forces and massacre the inhabitants, as they ride through the city. They close the gates of the city and prepare for a siege.

Meanwhile the news of the capture of the city and death of the emir has been carried to Cordes. Soon Vivien is besieged by a great army from all the territory of Spain. It is stated later (lines 2372, 2373) that the Saracen commander is king Gormont, who had captured the city while Vivien was a prisoner there and had made Mirados his vassal. The merchants have carried all the available provisions "en la grant tor antie."¹⁰

Vivien remembers "— — lou lignage Armeniart de Pauie."¹¹

The Saracens swear to capture the city and put Vivien to death. They furiously assail the walls with engines of war. Hideous pagans cross the moat and climb upon the battlements. Vivien drives the invaders out and kills many of them.

There follows now the vow of Vivien, made here in his boyhood. After declaring that, if he ever escapes alive from the present exigency, the Saracens will never have peace, he makes the following solemn covenant upon some sacred relics and before the whole assembly:

que ia mais ne fujroit por Turc ne por Escler
demie lanche non deux pies mesuré.

Guillaume was much displeased by this vow.

& dans Guillaume d'Orengie au cort nes (2210)
en fu puis moult courechies & ires
& en bataille moult durement greues,
Com ie dirai, se tant oïr volés.

The manuscripts other than that of Boulogne, tell how Vivien was killed at Aliscans, where he might have escaped but

¹⁰ Only in the MS. of Boulogne, l. 1999

¹¹ MS. 1448, l. 2091.

for his oath. Guillaume, Guielin, Bertran, Gautier de Termes, and Guichart were routed. Manuscript 1449 says:

li cuens Guillaume i fu desbarete (2215)
& ses neuwez toit .vii. enprisonne.

The Saracens again assail the city. They draw their lines closer and cut off supplies.

dusca .vii. ans ont le siege iure. (2264)

The men in Luiserne are so reduced by hunger that they are compelled to kill horses for food.

The narrative now returns to the merchants in Portugal. Mabile, Godefroi's wife, had kept Vivien for five years.¹² She hears that Vivien is besieged at Maldrane and that he has killed "roi Mirados" (lines 2305-2307). Mabile now tells Godefroi who Vivien really is. She says that his mother, Ustase, was daughter of duke Naimes (lines 2359, 2360).

Godefroi and Mabile, with a retinue, now ride to Paris on behalf of Vivien. Manuscript 1449 and the manuscript of the British Museum say that they find the king at Mont Laon (line 2455). In manuscript 1448 they go to Paris. The morning after their arrival they go to court. Mabile addresses the king and reminds him how "à Saint Pere maior" (line 2498) she had presented him with a sword which had belonged to "le roi Cesaire l'aumacor" (line 2503), and how he had promised her aid, if ever she came into France and asked for it. She tells all that has happened to Vivien—how Gormont captured Maldrane and the great tower and how she took Vivien from a Saracen,

si l'al norri .vii. ans par grant amor.¹³

To the appeal of Mabile, the king replies that Vivien is dead and that no one will be sent for him. Mabile offers him

¹² MS. of Boulogne, II. 2300 and 2647.

¹³ Ibid. I. 2539.

all her possessions, but he refuses to do anything. The courtiers say among themselves that the merchant's wife is lying, inasmuch as Vivien was decapitated seven years before, when he was left as a hostage for his father.¹⁴

Mabile, angry at the king's refusal, sends to Garin at Anséune. In the manuscripts other than that of Boulogne, he is represented as already being at Paris. The messenger finds Bernard with Garin, and they proceed to Paris with all their troops.

In relating affairs to Garin, Mabile tells him that she had kept Vivien five years (line 2647).

Garin pleads with the king, and even defies him in the name of his family, if he will not lend them aid. Garin recounts the services of Guillaume at Montfaucon, at Beauvais, at Reims, and at Soissons.¹⁵ Count Bernard also addresses the king. All the manuscripts agree that he is the eldest of the seven sons of Aimeri. He angrily reminds Louis how, when the latter would have fallen under the feet of his enemies, Guillaume had raised him up and placed the great crown upon his head, and that it is really through Guillaume that he rules (lines 2760-2768). If the king refuses aid, Bernard will within one month assail him with ten thousand men, and will hurl down the walls of the palace. Elyot de St. Just (manuscripts other than that of Boulogne say "de Saumur"), a treacherous flatterer and seneschal of the king, reproves Bernard and advises him not to talk further. Bernard withdraws.

At this time Guillaume arrives with a strong force at the palace, accompanied by his brothers Aimer, Guibert, Hernaut, and Boeve. His shield bearer is "ses nies Bertran." Manuscript 1449, line 2805, says: "Moult par fu iuenes .xv. anz ot & ne plus." The manuscript of the British Museum agrees here;

¹⁴ All the MSS., ll. 2597-2598.

¹⁵ MS. 1449, l. 2735.

manuscript 1448 has "n'a que .xii. ans ne plus." The manuscript of Boulogne does not mention his age at this place.

Bertran hears of Elyot's insult to his father, Bernard, whereupon he rushes in before the king, with drawn sword, and kills the offender. At this bold deed the wrath of the king is hot. He chides Guillaume for the act of his nephew and repeats his determination to give no aid for Vivien. He says that the year before this Bertran had killed Pinel, the king's "despensier."

Guillaume becomes angry and tells the king that he shall come with him into Spain to help Vivien. He reminds Louis how, when he was on the point of falling and failing to win "la flor de france,"

cant on uoloit .i. autre coroneir (2875)
parmi ous tos uos alai releuer,
tel li donai de mon poing sor lo neis
que labati par deles .i. piler.

Guillaume adds that, when attacked by the traitor's friends, he killed one thousand of them, and that within three years he had made all subject to Louis; yet the king is ungrateful. Guillaume says that, if the king does not give assistance, his lineage will assail the king and leave him no possession. Garin reminds Louis of Aimeri's services to Charlemagne.

Later, when Guillaume is in a suburb of the city, a messenger informs him that the king consents. All thereupon return to the palace. The king is still angry at Bertran. He tells Guillaume that he has sent his barons many times into Spain, but they have not returned. He again refuses to go; whereupon the quarrel breaks out afresh. Guillaume declares that, if he returns from Spain, he will strike the crown from Louis' head. When he threatens the king's life, no one dares to interfere. Bernard calls on the knights to assail the palace, because of Bertran, to whom the king does wrong. Ten thousand men assemble.

Next day arrives duke Naimés of Bavaria. Guillaume tells him how Vivien killed Mirados of Maldrane and captured the city, and how he is now besieged there by king Gormont (line 3222). Guillaume adds:

a cest maluais falli roi neveu sommes. (3224)

Bernard still advises the assault on the palace, but duke Naimés says they must not shame their king but counsel with him. Accordingly he goes up into the palace.

The king tells Naimés that it was because of the insult by Bertran that he refused aid. Naimés begs him to yield and for his sake the king promptly consents.

mais or ira par l'amistie de vous,
o moi menrai cent mil de mes barons.

Naimés is overjoyed at this and calls upon Bertran to do homage to the king. Bertran stoops to kiss the foot of the king, whereupon the king raises him up and kisses him, and they are reconciled.

The army of the king now assembles from his wide domains—one hundred thousand men, including Flemish, Danes, and English. Guillaume d'Orange bears the oriflamme.¹⁶

The army, led by Louis, marches to Orléans. It extends for seven leagues. The real commander is Guillaume. After crossing the Loire, the army advances for eight days.

Renier de Surie¹⁷ or Robert de Sezile¹⁸ meets the king and reports that Luiserne is entirely hemmed in by one hundred thousand pagans (line 3487), and also that the passes of the mountains are closely guarded. At this news, the Lombards weep

¹⁶ From this point until further noted the account, much of which is lacking in the MS. of Boulogne, will be given mostly from the other manuscripts.

¹⁷ MS. 1448.

¹⁸ MS. 1449 and MS. Brit. Mus., 20 D. XI.

with fear. The king, on seeing their weakness, tells them that, if he returns from the battle, he will have them decapitated.

The host passes Saint Gile (line 3503).

Again the king vents his wrath upon the Lombards, saying that they shall be taken in chains to St. Denis and burned.

When the army reaches the passes of the Pyrenees, it finds them held by one hundred thousand Saracens (line 3504). Upon signs of fear on the part of the Lombards, the king rushes among them and strikes them down right and left, causing them to flee in terror.

Bertran asks Guillaume to make him a knight. When Guillaume laughs, Bertran is angry, rushes forth, and captures the horse and armor of Estormi, "le plus coart chevalier de Berri." Bertran rides against the enemy's line and dismounts the Alpatris. The French support Bertran.

Bernard is dismounted and badly wounded with a lance. He lies upon a rock. Bertran finds him and drives the pagans away, then reports to the king. All ride out to where Bernard is lying, and the king's surgeons care for him.

Estormi complains of Bertran and brags of what he would have done, whereupon the king declares that he shall bear the oriflamme and lead the army. At the mere suggestion of this, Estormi trembles with terror.

In the battle of the heroic Vivien, Estormi also displayed his cowardice. In the sight of twenty thousand men he fled, carrying off a sheep caught in his stirrup.¹⁹

voiant vingt mille chevaliers combatans,
s'en foui il a esperon brochant,
a son estrier un mouton trainant, (3810)
ancois fu il a Beourgez la grant
qu'il seust se il fu noir ou blanc.

¹⁹ MS. Brit. Mus., 20 D. XI.

"Tiebaut" of Berri (line 3813) gives a horse and arms to Estormi.

And now Guillaume knights Bertran, who is here (line 3823) called "son cosin," meaning nephew. King Louis fastens on Bertran's spurs and holds his stirrup. Bertran leads a general attack which routs the enemy.

After three days at Pampelune, the army advances to Maldrane (or Luiserne), and finds one hundred thousand pagans around the city.²⁰

"Gerardin et Bertran,"²¹ "Guis et Gerars,"²² "Gui et Guichart,"²³ "Guis et Guichars,"²⁴ leave the camp, steal up unobserved to the gate of the city, and give Vivien word of the arrival of the relieving army. Manuscript 1449 says:

droit en l'Archant est li rois descendu. (3922)

Vivien admits his cousins at the city gate. He asks Bertran who he is. Bertran informs him, and says that his companion, here Girart, is the son of Boeve (manuscript of Boulogne). In the other manuscripts Vivien asks Guichart, who says that he is a son of Boeve.

Vivien and his cousins leave the city and proceed to the French camp. The manuscripts other than that of Boulogne introduce here a fight between Vivien and Guillaume, which ceases as soon as Guillaume learns Vivien's name. In the Boulogne text Guillaume rides out to meet the cousins and Bertran announces who they are. Vivien is brought before the king, where he also meets his father. All rejoice to see Vivien alive.

²⁰ The MS. of Boulogne here resumes.

²¹ MS. of Boulogne.

²² MS. 1448.

²³ MS. 1449.

²⁴ MS. Brit. Mus.

In a battle which follows, the Saracens are routed. Some escape "deca la mer" (line 4053), to their ships, but many are slain. Vivien has the gates of the city opened and receives his friends. He gives the town to his foster parents, Godefroi and Mabile.²⁵

A spy reports to king Gormont the arrival of king Louis with one hundred thousand men, duke Naimés, Aimeri, his seven sons, and all his heirs. "aim'is i est mismes (line 4125), "& si .vii. fil i sont auoques li" (line 4126). Aimeri's sons are Hernaut (Ernaut), Bernard, Guibert, Boeve, Garin d'Anseune (father of Vivien), Aimer "li caitis" (le chétif), and Guillaume.

& si i est Guillaume li marchis,
cest chiels qui de son lin a desor toz le pris (4133)
& qui plus fait a douter ie vos dis

The spy continues that Guillaume had taken Nîmes by trickery, he also captured Orange and took from Tibaut his wife.

There now follows an account of their great battle with the Saracens under king Gormont. Bernard is severely wounded and dismounted by Finelon, "l'aumachor," but is rescued by Bertran and Guillaume. In the single combat with Finelon, Bertran kills his adversary. The Saracens are now driven back by the united onslaught of the French. The king and all the relatives go to aid Bernard, and the surgeons of the king dress his wounds.

When the army of Gormont is reduced from one hundred thousand men to ten thousand, they flee from the field. They are pursued to the shore, but plunge into their ships and sail away to their own land.

²⁵ MSS. other than that of Boulogne. From this point, line 4091, through line 4595 the story is carried on by the MS. of Boulogne alone. MS. 1449 ends with line 4066. MS. 1448 stops temporarily with line 4090 and begins anew at line 4598. MS. 20 D, XI of the Brit. Mus. skips from line 4070 to line 4596 and ends with line 4629.

The French army enters the city of Maldrane, where they remain, with feasting and rejoicing, for nine days. At the request of Vivien, king Louis gives the city to Godefroi.²⁶

The king and the army now depart and everyone journeys into his own land.

a orenge sen va Guillaume le poissant (4615)
la flor de toz les autre le vos di vraiment
ernals, ses freres, ua o luj ensement
& ses cousins li palasins bertrant

Manuscript 774 ends thus:

huimes commence grant chancon a uenir
de Vivien dont ai chante & dit
si comme il fu par aarofle ocis (4625)

The manuscript of the British Museum ends similarly and adds:

coment viuiens fu fais cheualiers

The manuscript of Boulogne and manuscript 1448 are continued.

Vivien goes with Garin to Anséune. Godefroi and wife and the merchants remain at Maldrane (or Luiserne) and improve the city.

Upon arrival at Anséune, Vivien is not recognized by Ustase. He tells his mother that after two years he will go to fight the pagans and avenge himself for their cruelty to him. He meets his brother, Guichart.

We are told that after two years Vivien is fifteen and "Guichardes ses nies" is over eleven.

²⁶ On pp. 250, 251 of the Wahlund and Fellitzen edition, MS. 1448 and MS. 20 D, XI of the Brit. Mus. again appear, and MS. 774 takes the place of the finished MS. 1449.

Vivien now tells Garin that he wishes to go to Orange, to be knighted by Guillaume, and to see "Bertran mon neveu" (line 4745. So in line 4759 he repeats,

Bertran mon neveu qui a cuer de lyon.

Ustase seems to speak prophetically when she says to Vivien:

bien sai se tu i vois pas ne te reverron. (4768)

Vivien takes leave of his mother, father, and brother, and with his companions goes to Orange (line 4787). He finds Guillaume, Guiborc, and Bertran in the palace. Guillaume gladly consents to confer knighthood upon Vivien. He invites friends to the ceremony.

mande sa gent & avant & arrier
tot droit a Termes sans nes un detrjer.

Gaudin, Hunalt, and Gautier arrive at Orange. They are young bachelors who are also to be knighted. All are own cousins of Vivien. Girart, Foukier, and Gui, "li freres Bertrant," come also; and twenty thousand men are assembled. In the evening there is a banquet. Next morning Vivien and his friends hear mass.

The following lines end the manuscript of Boulogne:

or escoutes por dieu le droiturier
bone canchon il na mielde soz ciel
bien faite de vraie estoire. (4860)
Ensi come Guillaume fait viuien chevalier.

From this point manuscript 1448 continues the story alone.

Deramé and many warriors are at the city of Cordes. He is angry at the French for devastating Spain. He calls to him his fifteen children. Among them are Walegrape

& Renoars qui fut de ione aej,
n'ot que sept ans pas ne furent passej.

Deramé asks aid from his barons against the French, who have captured Luiserne. His son Walegrape advises an invasion of France and adds:

encor serai a Paris coronés
& Loéis iert a cheuals trainés
a grant martire iert Guillaume livres.

Deramé heartily accedes to the suggestions of his son.

Piccolet²⁷ (line 4780), Renoart's tutor and also a skillful enchanter, takes Renoart into a garden and forbids him to worship Christ or to call on Mary or the angels. Renoart rebels against these injunctions, whereupon his master strikes him, making his nose bleed. Renoart, now thoroughly angry, throws his tutor down and pulls out his hair. Piccolet escapes to the palace and reports to Deramé. Renoart is at once called in and reproved by his father.

After people have retired, Piccolet prepares for Renoart a magic potion. He brings it to Renoart, who drinks it and is thereby bewitched.

adonques fut Renoart enchanteis. (4866)

While the boy is under the power of the drug, Piccolet takes him far away, to the seashore, where he sells him to merchants. Renoart is now carried off in the merchants' ship.

The traders land by the French camp, which is evidently still at Luiserne, and take their captive to king Louis' tent. The king is so pleased with the evident strength of Renoart, that he buys him for one hundred marks of silver. He tries to comfort the boy but the latter does not understand French. Renoart kills a tutor given him by Louis.

There is great rejoicing upon the arrival of the king at

²⁷ Cf. "Pecolet," in the *Bataille Loquifer*, who, at the order of Deramé, steals Renoart's child.

Laon (line 4943). While preparations for a banquet are being made, Renoart eats a great deal in the kitchen. When struck by the chef, he kills him and throws three other cooks into the furnace. When the king and others come at the noise, Renoart drives everyone from the kitchen and bolts the doors. He satiates himself with food and drink.

With *laisse* CXIV the narrative returns to Guillaume at Orange. Guillaume rides with his retinue to Anséune, to escort Vivien back to Orange, where he is to be knighted. He remains a month with his brother Garin, and then returns with Vivien. Garin and Huistace (Ustase), accompany them one league on the way.

Arrived at Orange, Vivien is kindly welcomed by Guiborc.

sire dist elle de bone ore fui née (5096)
des or uoil estre uostre amie privee.

She gives him a broad mantle which is indestructible by fire,

cent ans seroit ens ens un feu getee, (5105)
ains quelle puist estre arse ne brulee.

There follows an elaborate description of the beauty of Vivien. He was very proud; fought the pagans and killed many. Now he is seated among the angels, at the right hand of God.

Vivien and sixty young bachelors are knighted by Guillaume. To each one Guillaume presents a sword. He arms Vivien and gives him his good wishes. In an exhibition outside the city, Vivien shows his strength and skill by piercing three shields with the lance. All then return to the city and partake of a banquet.

Here, with line 5204, manuscript 1448 ends.

Notes on the *Enfances Vivien*

In the *Enfances* is found the latest version of Vivien's parentage. He is the son of Garin d'Anséune, who is brother of Guillaume d'Orange, and of Ustase, who is a daughter of duke Naimés of Bavaria. It was perhaps the author of the *Enfances* who made Garin a brother of Guillaume and therefore changed the earlier legend that Vivien was son of a sister of Guillaume.²⁸ It has been thought by some that Garin was perhaps originally a son of Naimés.²⁹

Luiserne, which in the manuscripts of the *Enfances* other than that of Boulogne is the name of the city which is the principal scene of Vivien's exploits, may be derived from *Lusitania*, the Latin name for Portugal. These exploits are strikingly similar to those which he passes through in Galicia according to the *Nerbonesi*. They probably have a common source. Mabile takes Vivien to her home, "Galides," according to the manuscript of Boulogne. This may easily be a mistake for Galice, Galicia.

It is stated in manuscripts 1448 and 1449 that the messenger from Garin to Ustase, in travelling from Luiserne to Anséune, passes through Navarre, Poitou, and Anjou, which would bring him into north-western France.

The statement of the manuscripts other than that of Boulogne that Garin was captured at the battle of Roncevaux is in accord with the tradition of the Jonckbloet text of the *Covenant* (*Chevalerie*). The *Enfances* was, however, probably the source for the statement in the *Chevalerie*. In the above versions of the *Enfances* the influence of the *Chanson de Roland* is easily discernible. The fact that it is the two poems which deal particularly with

²⁸ See Willame A. Foucon, etc.

²⁹ Cf. Cloetta: *Die Enfances Vivien*, p. 90

Vivien, namely: the *Enfances* and the *Chevalerie*, which show most strongly this influence of the *Roland*, tends to strengthen the opinion that Roland was Vivien's prototype.

According to the *Enfances*, the conquests of Vivien included the Archamp, Barcelona, Balaguer, Tortosa, and Portpaillart. The original source for Vivien's conquest of Catalonia was probably the primitive *Chevalerie*.

When Mirados reminds Vivien (lines 500-502) how Mirados's uncle, the emir Golias, had been slain by the Narbonnais "desoz Baudas," the tower of Baudart is suggested where Bertran and Guillaume are said, in *Foucon*, to have captured a Saracen flag.

There is a remarkable diversity of names in the different manuscripts of the *Enfances*.

It might seem a little questionable that Vivien's foster mother, Mabile, should wish to send him to the fair at the very city, Luiserne or Maldrane, where his arch enemy, king Mirados, is still in power. Apparently, however, Mabile does not know the true history of Vivien. He has kept his own counsel; and from his standpoint the return to Luiserne is practically an expedition for vengeance. The emir whom Vivien kills there is Mirados,³⁰ and by slaying him Vivien has fulfilled the emir's own forebodings.³¹

Line 1786 says that the king of France has married Vivien's aunt. Evidently Blancheflor the sister of Guillaume is meant, thus agreeing with the *Willame*, *Aliscans*, and the *Nerbonesi*.

The commander of the Saracen force which besieges Luiserne is king Gormont (lines 2372, 2373), the same who had captured the city while Vivien was imprisoned there and made Mirados his vassal.

³⁰ Cf. ll. 2305-2307, 2665-2668.

³¹ Cf. ll. 451-453.

The statement that the merchants have carried all the available provisions "en la grant tor antie"³² may be compared with the castle of Monte Argiento and the siege of Galicia, in the *Nerbonesi*.

The furious assault by the pagans, many of whom cross the moat and climb upon the ramparts,³³ suggests the attack upon Galicia, where the Saracens break through the walls and are driven out by Vivien.³⁴

The vow of Vivien made at Luiserne, thus early in his career (lines 2207, 2208), is probably copied from the vow made at the time he was knighted. The immediate source may have been *Aliscans*; the original source was probably the primitive *Chevalerie*. It is said that Vivien might have escaped death at Aliscans except for his oath. Therefore, the oath is considered as the direct cause of his being killed.

It is stated that at the battle of Aliscans Guillaume was routed and all seven of his nephews imprisoned.³⁵ Here again the *Enfances* presents the latest version in the matter of the captured nephews, and agrees with *Aliscans*. In A of the *Willame Guillaume's* nephews, Vivien and Girart, are killed and no nephew is captured. From this early tradition the number of captured nephews steadily increased in the succeeding versions until it reached the number seven. The *Willehalm* mentions eight.

The fact that Vivien and his men in Luiserne are so reduced by hunger that they are compelled to kill horses for food, may be compared with the similar condition of Vivien and his warriors in the old castle in the Archamp (*Chevalerie Vivien*). The two episodes may be connected. There was also suffering by famine at Monte Argiento.³⁶

³² MS. of Boulogne, only, l. 1999.

³³ MS. 1448, ll. 2152-2156.

³⁴ *Nerbonesi*, I. 474.

³⁵ MS. 1449, ll. 2215, 2216.

³⁶ *Nerbonesi*, Vol. I.

It is said that Mabile, the wife of Godefroi, had kept Vivien for five years.³⁷ As he was seven years and four months old at the beginning of the chanson, he was evidently in his thirteenth year when he left Godefroi. When Mabile says to Louis that she cared for Vivien seven years³⁸ this period seems to include two years at Maldrane (Luïserne) since he left Portugal. In lines 2597, 2598 (in all the manuscripts) the courtiers say it has been seven years since Vivien was left in Spain as a hostage for his father. Vivien is then represented as in his fifteenth year at the time Mabile is at court in his behalf.³⁹

The rebellious attitude of Bernard and Garin toward the king is more marked in the *Enfances Vivien* than elsewhere.

Bertran's killing Elyot de St. Just (or de Saumur), the king's seneschal, should be compared with his killing of Guilmieri.⁴⁰

Guillaume reminds Louis how,—

cant on uoloit .i. autre coroneir (2875)
parmi ous tos uos alai releuer,
tel li donai de mon poing sor lo neis
que l'abatî par deles .i. piler.

The reference would seem to be to the killing of Arneïs, the rival of Louis, by Guillaume.⁴¹

The services of Guillaume to Louis, often referred to in other chansons, are given in the *Enfances* in special detail. The similar enumeration is still more detailed in the *Charroi de Nîmes*. The quarrel between Louis and the Narbonnais as given in the

³⁷ MS. of Boulogne, ll. 2300, 2647.

³⁸ MS. of Boulogne, l. 2539.

³⁹ MS. 1449, ll. 2605, 2805, and the MS. of the Brit. Mus. give the age of Bertran also as fifteen years.

⁴⁰ *Nerbonesi*, Vol. I.

⁴¹ Cf. *Couronnement de Louis*.

Enfances is perhaps copied after the somewhat similar scene in *Aliscans* or some earlier redaction of the same. Line 3224:

a cest maluais falli roi neuveu sommes

is strikingly similar to line 2643 of *Aliscans*, where Guillaume curses the king in these words:

Et il (Dieu) confonde cel mavaïis roi faillis.

It is noticeable that it is the arrival of duke Naimés which quiets the troubled passions of the king and his barons. Naimés evidently enjoys great influence both with Louis and with Bertran. It is solely out of friendship for Naimés that the king will go to the relief of Vivien (lines 3263, 3264). The authority of Naimés over Bertran in promptly inducing him to do homage to the king lends some support to the idea that Bertran was originally the son of Naimés.⁴² In the *Enfances*, however, Bernard is represented as Bertran's father.⁴³

In the *Nerbonesi* the resentment of the king toward Bertran is not so easily appeased. There Bertran flees from vengeance at Paris and proceeds to Spain, where he joins the army of Aïmer, en route to succor Vivien at Monte Argiento. After the victory there and the subsequent march to Pietrafitta, where the army for the relief of Orange is assembled, Aïmer asks a favor of Louis. The king grants it before knowing what it is. When

⁴² The language used by Naimés to Bertran is like that of a father. There was indeed a strong tradition which ascribed to Naimés a son called Bertran le Timonier, or le Messenger. This is their relationship in *Aspremont*, *Ogier*, Philippe Mousket (8429 ss), *Galien*, and in the lost poem of *Gui de Nanteuil*. Probably Bertran, son of Naimés, and Bertran, son of Bernard, are the same person; for the son of Bernard is also the Timonier and the Messenger. If so, the question to solve is whether Bernard or Naimés was the father of Bertran in the primitive legend. Professor Weeks, who has carefully investigated this subject, favors Naimés as originally the father of Bertran.

⁴³ Cf. MS. of Boulogne, ll. 3940, 3941.

he learns that this favor is for him to pardon Bertran, he does so with rather ill grace and merely to fulfill his promise.

Robert de Sezile,⁴⁴ or Renier de Surie,⁴⁵ meets the French army, after it has journeyed for eight days southward from the Loire, and acquaints Louis with the condition of affairs in Spain. Line 3375 of the manuscript of the British Museum states that Robert had just spent a year in Galicia. (Manuscript 1449 has here "I. ior"). All the manuscripts except that of Boulogne, which omits entirely the episode of Robert, mention (lines 3383, 3384) that Robert has been in Galicia. He has returned by way of Luiserne, where he spent a fortnight. He now comes to the king as a messenger from Vivien. The Pyrenees are held by a force of one hundred thousand Saracens. He therefore found it impossible to cross the Pyrenees by the passes of Aspre and Etrie, but finally, with great difficulty, got through via port d'Aire. Luiserne would thus seem to be represented as between Galicia and these defiles of the Pyrenees. The town of Lucena, on the Ebro, north-west of Saragossa, may possibly be the original of Luiserne.⁴⁶

It is not clear how Robert and his fifteen men could enter or leave Luiserne, which was besieged by one hundred thousand Saracens. The forces which guard the mountains seem to have no connection with those at Luiserne. The passes which they are guarding are the same as those mentioned in the *Chanson de Roland*, namely—port d'Aspre⁴⁷ (line 3394); port de Sitre or Sire⁴⁸ (line 3504); Roncevaux (line 3852). The battle of the Pyrenees, which follows, is undertaken expressly to avenge the death of Roland, Olivier, Turpin, and the other martyrs of Ronce-

⁴⁴ MS. 1449, and MS. Brit. Mus., 20 D, XI.

⁴⁵ MS. 1448.

⁴⁶ L. Gautier, *Ep. Fr.*, Vol. IV, has expressed this opinion.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Roland*, ll. 870, 1103.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Roland*, ll. 583, 719, 2939, "Cizre, Sizre, Sirie."

vaux (lines 3548-3554). It should be noted too, that the manuscripts which give this battle, also stated at the beginning that Garin had been captured at Roncevaux, whereas the manuscript of Boulogne omits both. There is therefore discernible in the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale 1448, 1449, and manuscript 20D, XI, of the British Museum a marked influence from the *Chanson de Roland*.⁴⁹

The three manuscripts just mentioned seem to show, by the repeated indications of cowardice on the part of the Lombards which they introduce, a dislike for the Lombards on the part of the author from whom these accounts are taken, or of some ruler for whom he may have been writing.

Bertran asks Guillaume to make him a knight. Guillaume laughs because of Bertran's youth, whereupon Bertran at once rushes upon Estormi, "le plus coart chevalier de Berri," and captures his horse and armor. This episode probably goes back to the story, in A of the *Willame*, about Girart's capturing the armor of Tedbald of Berri and later dismounting Estormi. The youth of Bertran (fifteen years) and of Girart also furnishes a base of comparison. Later, when Estormi complains of Bertran and brags of what he would have done in the attack on the enemy, the king facetiously declares that Estormi shall carry the oriflamme and lead the army. At the mere suggestion of this, Estormi trembles in terror. It is said that in the battle of the heroic Vivien, Estormi also displayed his cowardice. In the sight of twenty thousand men he fled, carrying off a sheep caught in the stirrup. He would have dragged it clear to Bourges before he knew whether it were white or black.⁵⁰ This affair of the sheep, found also in manuscript 1448 (manuscript 1449 has

⁴⁹ For a fuller discussion of this general subject see Cloetta: *Die Enfances Vivien*, pp. 14, 15.

⁵⁰ MS. Brit. Mus., 20D, XI. ll. 3805-3812.

"troncon" for "mouton"), is plainly copied from the account of Tedbald and the sheep, in the *Willame A*, lines 393-404, or from some common source.

"Tiebaut" (Tedbald) of Berri gives a horse and arms to his nephew Estormi, who is, he says, a rich man. Tedbald has shown a little courage here in capturing two horses from the enemy (lines 3813-3822). In no other chanson except the *Willame* is there found so much about these men of Berri. Their survival in a poem as late as the *Enfances Vivien* is worthy of note.

The confusion in the names of some of Vivien's cousins is indicated in the account of those who steal up to the city of Luiserne (Maldrane) to see Vivien. The manuscripts have "Gerardin et Bertran," "Guis et Gerars," "Gui et Guichart," "Guis et Guichars."⁵¹

When the Christian army reaches Luiserne, it is said:

droit en l'Archant est li rois descendu.⁵²

This might seem to indicate that the Archamp was near Luiserne; but none of the other manuscripts have this reference, which is probably out of place here, a mere insertion from some other chanson.

When Vivien asks the names of the cousins, he is told by Bertran that Girart is a son of Boeve.⁵³ In the other manuscripts Guichart says that he is a son of Boeve (lines 3940-3943). As Gui appears in two of the manuscripts with Guichart and in one with Girart, a comparison of these passages seems to indicate that Guichart and Girart are either brothers or the same person. It will be noticed that in the Boulogne manuscript Bertran takes the place of Gui in the other manuscripts. Yet in line 4825, manuscript of Boulogne,

⁵¹ Ante, p. 210.

⁵² MS. 1449, l. 3923.

⁵³ MS. of Boulogne, l. 3944.

Gui is said to be the brother of Bertran. In the scene at the gate of Luiserne, Gui is not mentioned. The manuscript of Boulogne has here Bertran and Girart, as before; the other manuscripts have Bertran and Guichart. The general subject of the names and relationship of the nephews of Guillaume is peculiarly confused and difficult to explain satisfactorily.

The manuscripts other than that of Boulogne mention an encounter between Vivien and Guillaume, as Vivien and his cousins are approaching the French lines, which ceases as soon as Guillaume hears Vivien's name. This episode is perhaps connected with the similar encounter between Guillaume and Vivien in the *Chevalerie*. Both may have been suggested by the striking of Olivier by Roland.

The severe wounding and subsequent rescue of Bernard is, according to the manuscript of Boulogne, before the besieged city (here Maldrane). The incident is recounted much earlier (lines 3667-3783) in the other manuscripts. It occurs there in the battle at the Pyrenees. This incident, as well as the extra battle referred to, appears to be out of place in the other manuscripts; the manuscript of Boulogne maintains in this respect the proper sequence of events.

Manuscript 774 of the *Enfances Vivien* ends thus:

hui mes commence grant chancon a venir,
de Vivien dont ai chante et dit
si comme il fu par Aarofle ocis. (4625)

These lines seem to foretell that Vivien is killed by Aerofle in the *Chevalerie*. In the extant manuscripts of the *Chevalerie* the slayer of Vivien is not named. It is said by J. Weiske that, in the prose romance, Vivien is severely wounded by Esrofle (Aerofle)⁵⁴ In this condition, he drags himself to a spring which

⁵⁴ *Die Quelle des altfranzösischen Prosaromans von Guill. d'Orange*, Halle, 1898, p. 67.

Guillaume had indicated to him as their rendezvous. It will be seen that this idea that Vivien was slain by Aerofle is diametrically opposed to the more primitive tradition of the *Willame A*, where Vivien says to Girart (lines 634-641):

Va si me di a Willame mun uncle
 Si li remembre del champ de saraguce
 Quant il se combati al paen Alderufe

 Cele bataille fis io veintre a mun uncle
 Io ocis le paen Alderufe. (641)

It is worthy of notice that Vivien said in the following lines:

& decolai lez fiz Bereal tuz duze
 Al rei toli cele grant targe duble
 Io la toli le iur a un hungre
 Si la donai a Willame mun uncle
 & il la donad a Tedbald le cuart cunte
 Mais ore lad un mult prudhome a la gule. (647)

In the earlier traditions Vivien killed Tibaut at Orange.⁵⁵ In the valuable passages just quoted he killed Aerofle at Saragossa (or Gironde), and in the same battle he slew also the twelve sons of Borel (Bereal). The connection would seem to indicate that Aerofle was a very ancient character and that he probably appeared in the source for the *Fragment de la Haye* (tenth or eleventh century). This account of the capture of his armor was evidently the source for the later account in *Aliscans*.

Upon Vivien's arrival at Anséune, the statement that Ustase does not recognize him is explained by the fact that she has not seen him for seven years.

It is said that after two years Vivien is fifteen years of age. Strictly he would be sixteen at this time. He was seven years old when he went into Spain, he remained there seven years, and two years have followed at Anséune.

⁵⁵ *Willame A*, ll. 665-675.

It is stated that Guillaume knights Vivien later at Termes. The location of Termes is unknown. In both the *Chanson de Willame* and *Aliscans* Guillaume recalls the day when he knighted Vivien in his "palais à Termes." Therefore the name indicates rather a town than a palace.

The manuscript of the British Museum and the manuscript of Boulogne announce at their close a new chanson telling how Vivien received knighthood—the *Chevalerie Vivien*.

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Notes on the Renoart Portion of the *Enfances Vivien*

With line 4730, *laisse* C, manuscript Bibliothèque Nationale 1448, begins an account of the boyhood of Renoart, which is wholly lacking in the other manuscripts. It is not properly a constituent part of the *Enfances*, but is a later addition from some originally independent source. The fact that it is thus added near the end of manuscript 1448 reminds one of the account of Renoart's boyhood given at the close of the *Willame* (lines 3502-3553). It should be compared also with the narrative in the *Nerbonesi*. There seems to be a greater resemblance between these accounts in the *Willame* and in the *Enfances*. The narration in the *Nerbonesi* appears to be a version apart. In both the *Willame* and the *Enfances*, Renoart is a son of Deramé, in both Renoart dislikes his tutor. In the *Enfances*, Renoart gets into an open fight with him, because of which his tutor drugs him and sells him to traders at the seashore. In the *Willame*, Renoart runs away during his tutor's absence, is driven to sea in a boat and rescued by merchants. In the *Enfances*, the traders sell Renoart to the king at the French camp, which is apparently still at Luiserne. In the *Willame*, the place of sale is not mentioned. In the *Enfances*, the king takes him to Laon; in the *Willame*, he takes him to Paris. In the *Willame*, Renoart reveals to the king his parentage and because of this is condemned to kitchen service. In the *Enfances*, Renoart goes into the royal kitchen merely to satisfy his large appetite. The account in the *Willame* connects this early life of Renoart with more recent events by saying that Renoart has remained seven years in the kitchen and has now fought for Guillaume in the Archamp. The *Enfances* gives nothing beyond his first banquet in the kitchen.

The great similarity of these accounts leads to the belief that they are derived from a common source.

There may be some connection between the purchase of Renoart at Luiserne, as is apparently indicated in the *Enfances*, and the statement in *Aliscans* (lines 6374, 6375) that king Louis purchased him at St. Jacques. Santiago di Compostela was formerly the capital of Galicia.

With laisse CXIV of manuscript 1448 the story returns to Guillaume and Vivien, and anticipates the *Chevalerie* by relating the knightng of Vivien in greater detail than the *Chevalerie* itself. Its account of Guillaume's journey to Anséune, his sojourn there, and his return to Orange with Vivien, as well as certain other details, are not found in the *Chevalerie*. One might look here for some influence from the primitive *Chevalerie*. But the ideas of Vivien's parentage as here expressed, and of his residence at Anséune are comparatively recent

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LA CHEVALERIE VIVIEN

LA CHEVALERIE VIVIEN

INTRODUCTION

The *Chevalerie Vivien* is an introduction to *Aliscans*. It was probably written with that purpose and therefore may be considered of later origin. The present redaction of the *Chevalerie* may have been written about 1175. It was probably preceded by a primitive redaction of the *Chevalerie*, which may have differed materially from the extant versions. It is thought that the present *Chevalerie* is a composite of data drawn from the *Enfances Vivien*¹ and from *Aliscans*, and that its author had only an imperfect knowledge of the primitive *Chevalerie*.² The indebtedness of the present version to the *Enfances Vivien* and to *Aliscans* is easily discernible. Indeed the resemblances are very striking. Moreover the great haziness of its action and the vagueness of its topography give the present *Chevalerie* the air of a poem derived from various sources and elaborated by a remanieur whose own conceptions of the primitive legend were very indefinite. Invention in the *Chevalerie* is weak. Here more clearly than anywhere else Vivien appears to be a more or less indistinct copy of Roland. The resemblances are particularly marked in the poor text of Jonckbloet.³

The *Chevalerie Vivien* exists in nine⁴ manuscripts, dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The only printed

¹ Mr. Nordfelt thinks that the seeming references in the *Chevalerie* to the *Enfances* are more modern interpolations. He considers the fact that Vivien never names his parents in the *Chevalerie* as clear evidence that the author of the *Chevalerie* did not know of the parentage of Vivien in the *Enfances*.

² Cf. A. Jeanroy: *Romania*, XXVI. 180 et seq.

³ Cf. A. Jeanroy: *Romania*, XXVI. 185.

⁴ It is reported that one of these manuscripts, that at Cheltenham, which belonged to the late Sir Thomas Phillips has disappeared.

edition at this time (1907) is that of Jonckbloet.⁵ There is also a version in prose in the compilation of manuscript 1497, Bibliothèque Nationale, which dates from the fifteenth century.*

The verse is decasyllabic. In the manuscript of Boulogne the laisses end in a hexasyllabic line not found in the other manuscripts. This seems to be an indication of greater age⁶ on the part of the Boulogne redaction. Moreover it has been influenced less by other chansons. Accordingly this version is taken as the principal basis for consideration.

Like *Aliscans*, the *Chevalerie* is thought by many to rest historically on the defeat of Guillaume de Toulouse by the Saracens on the river Orbieu, in 793. These two poems and the *Moniage Guillaume* are the most historic of the geste.

⁵ *Guillaume d'Orange, Part IV. Li covenans Vivien.* pp. 163-213. La Haye, 1854, 2 Vols.

*There have since appeared two printed editions of the Boulogne *Chevalerie*: first, that of Mr. A. Terracher, and, second, the facsimile phototypes of the manuscript, with an introduction and notes by Professor Raymond Weeks, *The University of Missouri Studies*, 1909.

⁶ On the last folio (334 v^o. a) of the manuscript of Boulogne is written:

Chis liures fu fais. lan de grasse.
.M. cc. et .xx. files .liii.
Et .xv. ans tout droit sans mentir
Le tierch samedi en avril

Résumé of La Chevalerie Vivien

MANUSCRIPT OF BOULOGNE

The action begins with the arming of Vivien, and his being knighted by Guillaume at the festival of Pentecost.

It is when Guillaume girds the sword on him that Vivien first proclaims his vow:

Que ne fuirai jamais en mon ae
Por Sarrašin por Turc ne por Escler (fol. 81 v^o.)

Guillaume tries to dissuade him, but he only repeats the vow.

Guillaume knighted at the same time Gaudin, Gautier, Hunaut, Foukier and one thousand other bachelors. He grants Vivien ten thousand troops. Vivien's horse, "Burgigal," is the best steed except Bauchant (Baucent), the horse of Guiborc.

Vivien addresses his cousins—Gaudin, Gautier, Foukier, Hunalt, Girart, and Guielin de Braibant. Guillaume says that Bertran shall remain with him.

Vivien assembles his army of ten thousand men. He and his men take leave of Guillaume and Guiborc and start for Spain.

Vait sent Vivien vers Espaigne le grant
Od sa bele compaigne (fol. 82 v^o.)

Vivien proceeds to Barcelona—

A Bargelonge va Vivien li ber (fol. 82 v^o.)

and captures the city.

Next he captures Balaguer—

Puis prist par forche les tors de Balesgues (fol. 82 v^o.)

The conquest of "Bargelonge" and "Balesguer" occupied Vivien four years.

His next object of attack is Tortosa.

Sor une vile ala Vivien li ber
 Tourtolouse avoit nom moult faisoit aloer
 Tant sist devant Vivien li bons ber
 Que il fist toz les paiens afamer
 Dont prist la vile on li rendi les cles

Vivien now advances to Portpaillart.—

De Porpallart oi Vivien parler
 Une chite qui siet desor la mer
 La a souvent mainte nef arrive
 De marcheans de Cordes la chite (fol. 82 v^o.)

Seven years have elapsed since Vivien left Orange.

Il fu a Poupallart entre lui et si baron
 Vil. ans avoit erre tot ensi com dison
 Et si avoit pris viles et marces et doignons
 Tot le dona Guillaume qui tant estoit preudon (fol. 82 v^o.)

While at Portpaillart Vivien captures the men who land from a Saracen ship. They tell him that they are subjects of king "Deramé" of Cordes. Vivien has these men horribly mutilated and sent back on the same ship to Deramé, with the avowed purpose of angering him. Only four men are left in condition to manage the ship.

Vivien and his army now leave Portpaillart and journey toward Aliscans (line 225).

Vers Alissans vont illuec chevalchier
 La se logierent li jovene chevalier (fol. 83 r^o.)

The Saracen ship arrives at Cordes and the mutilated men are presented before "Rois des Rames," who is holding court in summer at the time of the festival of St. Jehan.

In speaking to "des Rames" (Deramé), Guillaume is referred to as,

Cil q'a dame Orable vostre fille espues
 Qui feme fu au Roi Tibaut l'Escler
 Par forche la tolue et Orenge autretel
 Ses neveux un gloton fel et desmesures (fol. 83 r^o. and v^o.)

It is said of Vivien:

Pris a Maldrane et Mirados tues
 Si apres Bargelonge et les tors de Balesguès
 Et Tortelouse et Porpallart sor mer

 Et si na mie xxii ans passes
 Na encore que vii ans qu'il fu adoubes
 Ore est logies en Alissans sor mer (fol. 83 v°.)

Deramé threatens vengeance. He will capture Orange and will have Orable burned. Then he will conquer the whole of France and will be crowned at Paris.

He assembles his army. One of the Saracen leaders is "Agrapart."

En Sartaigne Agrapart le derve (fol. 83 v°.)

Another leader is

Esmere le fier
 Chiels estoit flex Roi Tibaut le guerrier. (fol. 83 v°.)

In regard to the family of Deramés it is learned that:

.II. freres ot de moult grant renomee
 Luns estoit Hauchebiers des puis de Germolee
 Lautres fu Aerofies des puis de Valfondee
 Desrames les manda sans nule demoree
 Et sa sereur Flohaut na il mie oubliee
 Chou est cele qui porte la grant faus acherée (fol. 83 v°.)

Further:

Et Vivien si estoit en larchant
 Ne savoit mot de cel encombrement
 A xm. hommes estoit en Alissans (fol. 84 r°.)

The Saracens

volront sempres en larchant arriver

And it is said of Vivien that

en larchant estoit desoz la mer

Vivien hears the noise of the Saracen fleet coming over the sea. With him are Girart, Guielin, Hunaut, Foukier, Gautier de Blaives, and Gaudin. Vivien tells them of his vow, and Girart tells him that he should have summoned aid from Guillaume. Vivien gives his men leave to desert, if they wish to, but they decide to stay with him, in spite of their fear. Vivien mentions his vow several times. Vivien says to Girart that they are six sons of counts and all of the same lineage. Guielin is again called "Guielin de Bribant." Vivien and Girart fight side by side.

Deramé (Des Rames), Aerofle, and the Saracen army now land from the ships. A terrible battle ensues,

Orible fu la bataille a cel jor (fol. 85 v^o.)

Gautier de Blaives kills the Alpatris. Vivien laments that he will never see again Guillaume nor Guiborc, his father Garin, his mother Ustase, nor Guichart, his brother.

Vivien is badly wounded. He says that this will cause sorrow to Aimeri, Guillaume, and Aimer. Girart, Gaudin, Gautier de Blaives, Guielin, and Hunaut de Saintes draw out the iron from the wound. Girart tells Vivien that he erred greatly in not sending for Guillaume, but Vivien replies that it is far better not to ask help and to die regretted.

Vivien advises them to fight their way to an old castle where they will be safe and can send for aid. The castle is on a hill and is in good condition. Accordingly the French cut through the press and enter the castle. It has high walls of fine, cut marble. The castle would have sheltered them for a year, but they had nothing to eat or drink. Vivien advises them to kill and eat the horses. Only five thousand of his men have survived the battle.

A pagan, who was accidentally shut in the castle, tells Vivien that all in the Saracen army are subjects of king Deramé, who has with him his brothers Haucebier and Aerofle and his

sister Flohaut. It is said that Deramé has fifteen sons and a list of them is given. The eldest son is Walegrape. There follows a list of the Saracen kings. All the enemy, five hundred thousand in number, have come to destroy Vivien. Line 1091 has three hundred thousand. The Saracen says:

N'a encore pas iii. mois acomplis et passes
C'a Cordes arriva un moult grande nief (fol. 88 r^o.)

filled with seven hundred maimed Saracens.

Vivien now calls for a messenger to go for Guillaume, who is at Orange. He asks Gaudin, but he will not leave his post of danger. Vivien next asks Guielin, the son of Bernard of Braibant.

Viviens va Guielin apelant
Chiels estoit flex à Bernart de Braibant
Et estoit freres le palasin Bertrant (fol. 88 r^o.)

Guielin also is determined to remain and suffer with Vivien. Vivien is angry not to find a messenger. Girart, however, agrees to take the message to Orange. He will ride Burgigal, Vivien's warhorse. Vivien sends to Guillaume an urgent appeal for help. Girart is at first forced back into the castle, but, upon a second attempt, he succeeds in escaping.

The narrative now turns to Guichardin, Vivien's brother, a beautiful and robust youth of eighteen, who was at Anséune with his father, Garin, and his mother, Ustase. At his request, his parents send him to Orange, to be knighted. Guillaume tells him that his brother "est en l'Archant alés" and adds that he will knight Guichardin as soon as Vivien returns.

Tot ensi est Guichars bien .i. mois demores
Quainques de Vivien noirent mot parler (fol. 89 v^o.)

After a long, hard ride and much fighting, Girart arrives at Orange and finds great festivity within the city. People

take Girart for a Saracen, "As gardimens q'il a endosés." Nor does Guillaume recognize him, until he says:

Je sui Gerart flex Buevon

Girart tells of Vivien's bad plight "dedens l'Archant." He enumerates the Saracen kings and sons of Deramé. This king has brought his two brothers, Aerofle and Haucebier, and a sister:

Flohaut a non moult est desmesures
Une faus porte qui moult est acheres
Et ausi fauke crestiens com on fauke erbe espres (fol.
90 rō.)

Girart says to Guillaume, in enumerating the Saracen leaders:

Et si iest vo fillastres Esmeres (fol. 90 rō.)

Guillaume, Guiborc, Bertran, and Guichart are deeply moved by Girart's recital. Guillaume says he has used up his money in war and has nothing with which to hire soldiers. But at the advice of Guiborc, and thanks to the great treasure which she offers, Guillaume assembles twenty thousand hirelings from all lands. Guichart is knighted by Guillaume.

The French army rides forth from Orange.

Meanwhile Vivien, with characteristic temerity, decides not to wait for the arrival of Guillaume, and sallies from the castle to engage the enemy. Vivien strikes Deramé and cuts through his helmet. Deramé falls. Vivien recognizes him by his shield and is about to decapitate him, when he is rescued. The Saracens, hearing from Deramé that it is Vivien, assail him and kill his horse. Vivien falls to earth. He fights with his sword. He is wounded in the side with four darts and would have been killed but for the arrival of Hunalt, Gautier de Blaives, and one hundred others. They bandage his wounds and set him again on his horse.

Des dix milliers que Vivien ot li bers
 Na que lx. vis encor dont sont navres
 Li autre sont tot a lor fin ales (fol. 91 r^o.)

The relieving army, under Guillaume, Bertran, and Guichart, now advances proudly to the battle, with trumpet blasts. Deramé retreats to reform his lines and leaves the field to Vivien with thirty or sixty men, all severely wounded. The dauntless spirit of Vivien is well expressed in the following lines:

Dist Vivien vencu avons le camp
 Païen senfuient alons apres brochant
 Diex nos est en aïe (fol. 91 r^o.)

The Saracen horns sound the rally. Among the Saracen leaders is Synagon de Palerne. Bertran charges with the advance guard of ten thousand knights, and five thousand pagans are slain.

Des abatus est jonchie la plaigne (fol. 91 v^o.)

And now follows a fine description of Guillaume, as, with the second French division of ten thousand men, he enters into the battle.

A tant es vos Guillaume poignant par grant vigor
 Desor Bauchant qui li cort de lassor
 Ses hialmes bruns jete moult grant luïor
 Et ses haubercs jete moult grant resplendor
 Si porte lance qui fu de forte ator,
 A v. claus dor fine .i. oriflor
 Grant fu de cors et de ruïste valor
 Qui le veïst en Alissans le jor
 Membren li peust de fier combateor (fol. 91 v^o.)

Guillaume does such terrible execution that the pagans flee from him. Deramé calls upon his brothers and men to capture Guillaume and they surround him. A fierce conflict ensues. Bertran comes to Guillaume's aid with four thousand men.

Vivien, sightless because of his terrible wounds, wanders over the field, fighting like a madman. In this condition he meets his uncle Guillaume and strikes him a terrible blow with the sword. If the weapon had not glanced on the helmet, it would have killed him. It cuts through Guillaume's shield, and buries itself nearly two feet in the earth. Guillaume draws back and curses Vivien as a pagan. Never since he was knighted by Charlemagne had he received such a blow, but he will repay it. He raises his famous sword Joieuse, seizes Vivien by the nasal of the helmet, and would quickly have decapitated him, had not Vivien, who had heard him pronounce the name of Charlemagne, asked for a respite. They make themselves known to each other and both swoon from the shock. Vivien says:

Fiex sui Garin et dauseune nes (fol. 92 v^o.)

Guillaume is greatly afflicted to see Vivien's condition. He praises him as the best of his line. Guichart comes, embraces his brother and laments over him with Guillaume.

At the request of Vivien, who says he is mortally wounded and cannot be helped, they set him on a horse, put his sword in his right hand, and guide him toward the enemy. He enters again into the battle and strikes like one beside himself.

Guillaume and Guichart have now turned in other directions. The last three lines of the *chanson* are as follows:

*En Alissans fu li estors mortes
Turs et paiens i chient mort ases
La dolor i fu grande. (fol. 93 r^o.)*

Notes on the Chevalerie Vivien

MANUSCRIPT OF BOULOGNE

The fact that it is when Vivien is knighted that he proclaims his vow tallies with the references in the *Willame* and *Aliscans*. In the *Enfances Vivien* the vow is made earlier, viz: at Luiserne (or Maldrane).

The name of Guiborc's horse, Bauchant, is in accord with *Aliscans* and the *Willame*.

Seven cousins of Vivien are mentioned, as in *Aliscans*: Gaudin, Gautier, Foukier, Hunalt, Girart, and Guielin de Braibant. The use of the name Braibant with Guielin would suggest that he was a son of Bernard, instead of a son of Boeve.

When Vivien and his men are preparing to leave Orange, Guillaume declares that Bertran shall remain with him (folio 82 recto). The special fondness of Guillaume for Bertran is shown by numerous passages in the different chansons. It is stated in the *Nerbonesi*,⁷ that after the conquest of Aragon Bertran went to be with Guillaume, who could not live without him.

It will be noticed that Vivien captures Barcelona without the aid of Guillaume, who takes no part in this expedition. Guillaume is present, however, in both accounts of the conquest of Aragon in the *Nerbonesi*.

After taking Barcelona, Vivien "prist par forche les tors de Balesgues," and the conquest of these two places occupied him four years (folio 82 verso). Is there a possibility that the present Castillo de Balaguer, in the mountains west of Hospitalet and south of Barcelona, is a relic from the time when the poets were singing of Vivien and Guillaume? The small town of Balaguer is also in Catalonia, northwest of Barcelona.

⁷ Vol. II. 143.

The references to Balaguer in the chansons seem generally to indicate, however, by such expressions as "pors de Balesgues," the passes in the mountains (near Hospitalet), where is now the Castillo before mentioned.

Vivien next captures the city of Tortosa, after a siege which reduced the inhabitants to famine.

He hears of the seaport named Portpaillart, where many ships arrive from Cordes⁸ (folio 82 verso.) In the *Chevalerie* (folio 82 verso) it is stated that Vivien had now been occupied with the conquest seven years and that he gave all the conquered territory to Guillaume. This is seemingly the origin of Guillaume's possession of this place, so often coupled with his name. This differs, of course, from the *Nerbonesi*, in which Vivien retains Aragon and Catalonia as his kingdom. Guillaume naturally fell heir to Vivien's possessions at the latter's death. The period of time elapsed is not stated in either version of the conquest of Aragon in the *Nerbonesi*.

The manuscript of Boulogne has, in an interpolated passage (folio 82 verso), the only reference to Renoart in any of the manuscripts of the *Chevalerie*. The Saracens from the ships say to Vivien, speaking of Deramé:

Un fil a il perdu dont molt est courechies
Six ans a ja passe q'il ne le vit des iels

As Renoart tells Guillaume, in the *Willame* and in *Aliscans*, that he has been seven years in the king's kitchen, one year would seem, judging from the above reference, to elapse between Vivien's maiming of the shipload of Saracens and Guillaume's visit to the king. This time is partly accounted for by the three months which elapse before the army from Cordes arrives (folio 88 recto) and the four months that Bertran is a prisoner.⁹

⁸ Cf. an almost identical passage in *Aliscans* (lines 8317-8319), where Guillaume gives Tortosa and Portpaillart to Renoart.

⁹ *Aliscans*, l. 5370.

Vivien and his army now leave Portpaillart and proceed to Aliscans.

Vers Alissans vont illuec chevalchier
La se logierent li jovene chevalier (fol. 83 r°.)

The impossibility of this meaning the cemetery at Arles is evident. To go to Arles would be for Vivien to relinquish all of his conquests, and certainly he was the last man to do that. The word "Alissans" is undoubtedly used for the Archamp; and there is seen here, as elsewhere, evidence of the confusion between these two names. This confusion is still more apparent in lines 367-369, which read:

Et Vivien si estoit en larchant
Ne savoit mot de cel encombrement
A xm. hommes estoit en Alissans (fol. 84 r°.)

Although there is generally no regularity in regard to capitalization in Old French, one cannot help noticing the similarity between the form "des Rames," which is used, for Deramé, almost without exception, throughout the Boulogne manuscript of the *Chevalerie*, and the forms "di Rama," "di Rames," and "di Ramesse" in the *Nerbonesi*. These appear to be the only sources in which this name is thus divided and capitalized. The supposed historic original is also similarly written, Abd-er-Rahmân. Therefore the forms in the Boulogne *Chevalerie* and the *Nerbonesi* seem more primitive. In the *Chevalerie*, as in most of the French chansons, there is only one Deramé, but in the *Nerbonesi*, as previously noted, there are several.

In speaking to Deramé, Guillaume is referred to as:

Cil qui a dame Orable vostre fille espues
Qui feme fu au Roi Tibaut lescler
Par forche la tolue et Orenge autretel
Ses neveux .i. gloton fel et desmesures (fol. 83 r°. and v°.)

Line 278, in making Orable the daughter of Deramé, and consequently the sister of Renoart, is true to the teaching of the

Willame and *Aliscans*, but contrary to that of the *Nerbonesi*, according to which Orable and Renoart are cousins. The reference in line 281 is evidently to Bertran.¹⁰

It is said of Vivien:

Pris a Maldrane et Mirados tues, (284)
 Si apres Bargelonge et les tors de Balesgues
 Et Tortelouse et Porpallart sor mer

 Et si na mie xxii. ans passes (288)
 Na encore que vii. ans qu'il fu adoubes
 Ore est logiès en Alissans sor mer (fol. 83 v°.)

The reference in line 284 is to events in the *Enfances Vivien*. The four places mentioned in lines 285, 286, are those most frequently referred to in connection with Vivien's conquest of Catalonia. Lines 288, 289 imply that Vivien was knighted at the age of fifteen, which accords fairly well with the data of Vivien's age given in the Boulogne manuscript of the *Enfances*. Strictly, he was sixteen.

The threat of Deramé to capture Orange and have Orable burned (folio 83 verso) may be compared with lines 3994-3997, 8240-8242, 8327-8337 in *Aliscans*.

One of the Saracen leaders is Agrapart, whose fight with Renoart is found in the *Willame*. This line of the *Chevalerie* perhaps connects Agrapart with the mysterious "terre certaine" of the *Willame*:

En Sartaigne Agrapart le derve (fol. 83 v°.)

Another leader is

Esmare le fier
 Chiels estoit flex Roi Tibaut le guerrier (fol. 83 v°.)

¹⁰ Cf. *Prise d'Orange*.

¹¹ Cf. *Aliscans*, ll. 1047, 1048.

Esmaré is supposed to have been the stepson of Orable. The *Chevalerie* calls him the stepson of Guillaume. In the *Nerbonesi* he is called Dragonetto.

With regard to the family of Deramé it is stated (folio 83 verso) that he had two brothers of great renown—"Hauchebiers des puis de Grimolee" and "Aerofles des puis de Valfondee"—and also a sister, Flohaut, who wielded the great scythe.¹² These data seem to be from *Aliscans* or from a common source, in so far as Haucebier and Aerofle are concerned. Flohaut (Florechaux) is in *Aliscans*, however, the sister of Grishart. The latter says to Renoart:

Je te dorrai et citez et chastiax,
Et ma sereur qui a nom Florechaux.
C'est cele dame qui porte cele fax¹³

The testimony of the *Chevalerie*, which makes this amazon a sister of the greater Saracen, Deramé, would seem to be a later touch. It is of course possible, however, that Deramé and Grishart were supposed to be brothers.

The number of Vivien's men in the *Chevalerie* is ten thousand, the same as that in the *Willame A*, but one-half of the number in *Aliscans* and the *Nerbonesi*.

It is said (folio 84 recto) that the Saracens

volront sempres en l'Archant arriver

and of Vivien:

Q'en l'Archant estoit desoz la mer

Now, the shipload of mutilated Saracens was sent by Vivien from Portpaillart (folio 82 verso). Therefore the Saracens would naturally sail for that point, but it is stated that they sail for the Archamp. The natural conclusion is that the Archamp and Portpaillart were at least in close proximity to each other.

¹² Cf. fol. 87 v^o.; fol. 90 r^o.

¹³ *Aliscans*, ll. 6488-6490.

It has already been noted that the location of Portpaillart, although the place is so frequently referred to, is unknown.¹⁴ It seems evident, however, from the data of the French chansons and the *Nerbonesi* that both the Archamp and Portpaillart were conceived to be near Tortosa and north of the mouth of the Ebro.

In describing the conflict which took place when Deramé, Aerofle, and the Saracen army landed and engaged the forces of Vivien, it is said:

Orible fu la bataille a cel jor (fol. 85 v°.)

There is unmistakably a connection between this line and the opening lines of *Aliscans*:

A icel jor ke la dolor fu grans
Et la bataille orible en Alicans.

One would naturally judge from the language of these lines in *Aliscans* that they were derived from the lines in the *Chevalerie*. Our opinion is that some version of the *Chevalerie*, originally separate, was once prefixed to *Aliscans*. Later it was again separated, and at that time the opening lines of the present version of *Aliscans* were made to refer to the similar lines of the *Chevalerie* and thus to connect the poems.

Gautier de Blaives kills the Alpatris (folio 85 verso). In *Aliscans* and the *Willehalm* it is Vivien who kills him. In the latter poem Vivien is also slain by the Alpatris.¹⁵

The *Chevalerie Vivien* presents the latest and final stage in the parentage of Vivien. His father is Garin, his mother Ustase,

¹⁴ M. Jeanroy suggests (*Romania*, XXVI. 33, note) that the origin of Portpaillart may have been *Portus Balearis*, in the Balearic Isles. M. Suchier may, however, be correct in deriving the name Portpaillart from "pagus Palliarenensis" (same reference).

¹⁵ *Willehalm*, ll. 24, 30; 25, 20-25. Cf. Vivien and Maltribol killing each other in the *Nerbonesi*.

and Guichart is his brother. The relationships of Vivien here agree with the testimony of the *Enfances*, which is exceptionally explicit on this subject. In the *Enfances* Ustase is daughter of duke Naimés of Bavaria. This parentage of Vivien is perhaps due to the author of the *Enfances Vivien*, who makes Garin an own brother of Guillaume and is thereby forced to break with the old tradition (*Willame, Foucon*) that Vivien's mother was Guillaume's sister.

When Vivien is wounded, he declares that Aimeri, Guillaume, and Aimer will lament. Then Aimeri and Aimer are living at this time, contrary to *Foucon* and the *Nerbonesi*. The reference to Aimer recalls the close relations between this uncle and Vivien in the campaign of Galicia and Monte Argiento¹⁶

Hard pressed by the great Saracen army, Vivien and his men force their way through the enemy into an ancient castle on a hill. This castle seems to be in excellent condition and has high walls of fine, cut marble¹⁷ (folio 87 verso). The Christians could have found refuge there for a year, but they had nothing to eat or drink. Vivien at once advises his men to kill and eat the horses.

The unreasonableness of this episode is evident. That the Saracens should have left such a fine castle without a garrison is hardly conceivable. It is true that the army of Deramé has recently landed, but it is so superior in size¹⁸ to that of Vivien as to warrant the immediate seizure and occupation of such a deserted stronghold. The fact too, that the Christians are so reduced by hunger that they need to kill their horses, suggests a

¹⁶ *Nerbonesi*, Vol. I.

¹⁷ Marble is, in Catalonia, frequently used in building. The houses of Tortosa have generally their lower stories built of this material.

¹⁸ The forces under Deramé are stated in one place to comprise 500,000 men; in another, 300,000. The vast size of this army reminds one of that under Tibaut in Book VI of the *Nerbonesi*.

long siege. The whole idea of the castle is probably taken from sources whence came the "Monte Argiento" of the *Nerbonesi* and from the siege of Maldrane (Luiserne) in the *Enfances Vivien*. The similarity is too great to need comment. However, the extreme hunger of the French at this time is natural. Lines have occurred which show that the battle has been going on for several days, just as in the *Willame A*.

A Saracen who was shut into the castle tells Vivien that the shipload of mutilated Saracens reached Cordes three months ago (folio 88 recto). It would seem from this that during all this time Vivien had done nothing to insure himself against attack by the enemy. This is, of course, in keeping with his dislike ever to appeal for aid, as well as with his reckless contempt for the foe. If Vivien was at or near Tortosa, as seems probable, the strong fortifications of that city would naturally increase his confidence.

It is stated that Guielin is a son of Bernard de Braibant and brother of Bertran the Paladin (folio 88 recto).

It is Girart whom Vivien sends to bring aid from Guillaume at Orange. In the *Willame* also it is Girart who carries this message; but there he goes to Barcelona. This city has in the *Chevalerie* ceased to play much of a rôle. In the *Nerbonesi* the messenger from Vivien to Guillaume at Barcelona is Guicciardo. The action of *Aliscans* and *Foucon* begins too late for this message.

It is stated that after Guichart, Vivien's eighteen year old brother, went to Orange to be knighted by Guillaume, he is told that Vivien "est en larchant ales" (folio 89 recto).

Tot ensi est Guichars bien un mois demores
Quainques (l. ainc) de Vivien n'oïrent mot parler

By comparing this statement with that of the Saracen captured at the castle in the Archamp, that three months had elapsed

since the shipload of Saracens arrived at Cordes, one might infer that Guichart went to Orange two months after the arrival of that ship, for the two periods end at the same time. The above passage about Guichart also confirms the fact that Vivien sent absolutely no word to Guillaume until he dispatched Girart.

Guillaume's financial difficulty in raising troops for the relief of Vivien may be compared with his reduced circumstances in the *Willame* after his return from the battle of Bordeaux.

In the *Willame A*, Guillaume is found at Barcelona, in the *Chevalerie* he is found at Orange. In both these chansons he is unprepared and must assemble an army after receiving the appeal from Vivien. In the *Nerbonesi*, on the other hand, he has been forewarned of Tibaut's invasion and is ready with an army at Barcelona when the summons comes.

Before the army of Guillaume arrives, Vivien sallies from the castle and is at once involved in an unequal struggle with the enemy. His horse is killed and he is badly wounded, but is rescued and remounted. This unnecessary sacrifice on the part of Vivien seems introduced by the poet in order to prepare the touching scene of the meeting of Vivien and Guillaume on the battlefield.

Vivien shows his prowess by overpowering Deramé; but the latter is rescued (folio 90 verso, folio 91 recto).

The following lines, in their tragic terseness and reserve force, remind one of the *Willame*:

Des dix milliers que Vivien ot li bers
Na que lx. vis encor, dont sont navres;
Li autre sont tot a lor fin ales (fol. 91 r^o.)

Contrary to the *Willame A*, Vivien with a few of his men are still fighting when the army of Guillaume arrives upon the field.

The description of the charge of Guillaume (folio 91 verso) is one of the most inspiring passages in the chansons de geste.

He is the flower of knighthood in all its sterner aspects. And even in our own day, so far removed from mediaeval times, one reads with admiration of the fierce onslaught of this redoubtable champion. Surely Guillaume's epic glory is never greater than when he dashes, in shining armor, upon the blood-stained Archamp.

The line which reads :

Des abatus est jonchie la plaigne (fol. 91 v^o.)

reminds one strongly of a line of Victor Hugo, in which he says to Napoleon :

Demain, c'est ta vieille garde jonchant la plaine.

The name of Guillaume's horse, "Bauchant" (folio 91 verso) is the same as in the *Willame*.

The striking of Guillaume by Vivien, when the latter is blinded with blood, suggests the similar scene in the *Chanson de Roland*, where Roland strikes Olivier.

After Guillaume and Vivien have made themselves known to each other, and Guillaume and Guichart have lamented over Vivien's terrible condition, Vivien, though mortally wounded, is once more put in the saddle, rides among the enemy and is lost to sight. He has been found for a few agonizing moments, to be at once lost irretrievably.

The poem breaks off abruptly. It does not bring the battle to a conclusion. The outcome of the conflict and the fate of Vivien and Guillaume are not told.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Introduction.

In the remaining portion of this study the probable origins of the legends of Guillaume and Vivien and their cycles will be discussed in a more general way; also the later developments and cyclic relations of the *Willame* and connected sources. These will be taken up in the same order as in the first portion of the study, namely: The *Willame* A B, C, and R, *Foucon de Candie*, *Le Storie Nerbonesi*, *Aliscans*, *Les Enfances Vivien*, and *La Chevalerie Vivien*.

ORIGINS OF THE LEGENDS

GUILLAUME D'ORANGE

It has been thought by some critics that several historic characters are blended in the Guillaume d'Orange of the chansons de geste. There may be indications that the following four personages have been thus combined: 1. Guillaume de Toulouse, circa 748-812; 2. Guillaume comte de Poitiers, 935, and duc d'Aquitaine, 950; 3. Guillaume comte de Montreuil-sur-Mer, historically important about 960; and 4. Guillaume comte de Provence, 961. Of these the chief original of Guillaume d'Orange seems to have been Guillaume de Toulouse.

Guillaume de Toulouse was born in northern France about 748. His parents were Theodoric, who was probably connected with the royal family, and Alde.¹ His life before 790 is unknown. He was one of the principal councillors and best soldiers of Charlemagne. In 790 Charlemagne appointed him duke of Aquitaine and count of Toulouse and charged him with the defence of the Midi against the Saracens. In 793 Guillaume fought a severe battle near the river Orbieu with a large Saracen army under Heschem, successor to Abd-er-Rahmân I of Cordova. Though deserted by some of his troops and overpowered by numbers, Guillaume inflicted such damage upon the enemy that the latter soon returned into Spain. By his heroic defense² in this unequal conflict, he became the savior not only of the Midi but of entire France. Later Guillaume de Toulouse commanded part of the French army under Louis le Débonnaire (then king of Aquitaine) in the capture of Barcelona, circa 802. He founded

¹ Cf. Eginhard: *Annales*, année 782.

² "Wilhelmus autem pugnavit fortiter in die illa." *Annales Moissacenses*, ann. 793. Dom Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*, V. 74.

in 804 the monastery of Gellone, to which he retired in 806. He died at Gellone, May 28, 812.

If, as has been generally supposed, this glorious defeat on the Orbieu was the chief historic origin of the legendary defeat of the Archamp or Aliscans, the part taken by Guillaume in the latter is easily explainable. His connection with Barcelona and with Gellone also appear to be reflected in the chansons.

Guillaume duke of Aquitaine, 950-963, and count of Poitiers (Guillaume Tête d'Étoupe) is said to have been a faithful partisan of Louis d'Outre Mer, 936-954, and to have defended him against the league of Heribert, Hugues, and Guillaume Longue-Epée duke of Normandy. Guillaume retired to the abbey of St. Cyprien de Poitiers and later to that of St. Maixent, where he died in 983. His daughter Adelaide married Hugues Capet in 970.

From the career of this Guillaume of Aquitaine and Poitiers may have come in part the claims, so strongly urged by Guillaume and his friends in the epics, that he had defended the king against his enemies. His connection by marriage with royalty may have something to do with the legendary relationship of Guillaume d'Orange as brother-in-law to Louis. An allusion to this Guillaume of Poitiers may be seen also in the reference to Reinald de Peiter, a nephew of Guillaume, mentioned only in the *Chanson de Willame* (lines 2540-2550).

Guillaume de Montreuil was possibly the original of the Guillaume of those parts of the *Couronnement de Louis* which deal with Rome and with Richard duke of Normandy. This Guillaume of the *Couronnement* was identified with Guillaume d'Orange in the *Charroi de Nîmes*.

Guillaume count of Provence, dislodged the Saracens from the castle of Fraxinetum (Fraxinet), defeated them in a great battle near Dragnignan in 975, and drove them forever from Provence. He died in 992. This important victory is thought

to have exerted an influence on all the epic wars with the Saracens in Provence or the Midi. It may possibly have some connection with the legendary victory in the Archamp.

Certain details connected with Guillaume d'Orange may have been suggested by Guillaumes other than those mentioned. For example, the appellation "Guillaume Brachefiere" may go back to Guillaume, *Brachium ferri*, comte de Pouille and general of the Normans in 1043.

The Guillaume d'Orange or Guillaume au Courb Nez of the epics is therefore somewhat composite in historic origin. He is, however, in large measure legendary, and the historic elements which may appear in him should not be too greatly emphasized.

VIVIEN

In regard to the origin of Vivien there is much obscurity. The oldest tradition (in the *Willame* and *Foucon*) makes him a son of a sister of Guillaume. This would naturally be the first step in introducing him into Guillaume's family, for it was less noticeable to make him the son of an unnamed sister than the son of a brother already known to the epics. It is not difficult to look back still further to a time when Vivien was not at all related to Guillaume but was an independent hero. The fact that Vivien nowhere speaks of his mother, except in a comparatively late poem, the *Enfances Vivien*, and that only there is she mentioned by name and takes any part in the action indicates that the primitive tradition of her is very vague and shadowy. The idea that Vivien was brought up by a foster mother also argues complete absence of an own mother from the scene. The earliest account of the foster mother³ states that Guiborc had cared for Vivien more than fifteen years. As Guillaume was said to be Vivien's uncle, it would not have been unnatural for Vivien to have passed his boyhood under his tutelage, even if his parents were living. The tradition of the *Willame A*, is that Boeve, Vivien's father, is dead. However, the tradition that Guiborc had for so long a period the care of Vivien may be only another device to connect Vivien, originally independent, with Guillaume. In the *Vie de St. Honorat* he is merely one of the soldiers of Charlemagne.

In this tradition of the *Vie de St. Honorat* there is at least a suggestion of Vivien's probable origin. Although the *Vita* is evidently late (thirteenth century) and connects Vivien with Arles, where he is slain, its representation of this hero entirely apart from Guillaume appears to be primitive, as may also be his con-

³ *Willame*, II. 682-684.

nection with Charlemagne. As regards the early tradition of the epics that Vivien conquered Catalonia and died in battle near Tortosa, it may be significant that in the *Vie de St. Porchaire* Vivien is connected, not with Charlemagne, but with Louis. He accompanies Louis in a great expedition against the Saracens in Provence. The *Vie de St. Porchaire* is evidently derived largely from the epics. It places the death of Vivien at the defeat of Aliscans. Yet the fact that in this source Vivien is killed while fighting in the south under Louis would seem to be in line with the earliest existing indications. If Vivien's Catalonian campaign and death near Tortosa have any historical foundations, they are probably connected with the capture of that city in 809 by Louis le Débonnaire. It is known that a few years later Tortosa was recaptured by the Moors and long continued in their power.

The character of Vivien seems to be copied in a general way after that of Roland. Vivien is made a nephew of Guillaume, just as Roland is made a nephew of Charlemagne. Guillaume comes to the relief of Vivien in battle, just as Charlemagne returns to relieve Roland. It is worthy of note, however, that this similarity between Roland and Vivien is strongest in a comparatively late version of the *Chevalerie* (the text of Jonckbloet). There the resemblance is very striking, including such incidents as the blowing of the horn. In the Boulogne manuscript, however, which gives decided indications of being more primitive, the likeness is not so strong. It has been indicated elsewhere that Vivien as a hero of song may go back into the ninth century.

■

THE GESTES OF GUILLAUME AND OF VIVIEN

It seems probable that there were once a number of poems which formed a separate cycle of Vivien. Indeed it may be said that even to-day there exists such a cycle within that of Guillaume. The sources in which Vivien is still the principal hero are the *Chanson de Willame A*, (Guillaume a close second); *Le Storie Nerbonesi*⁴; *Aliscans*, the first 867 lines (Guillaume a close second); *Les Enfances Vivien*; and *La Chevalerie Vivien*. The original poems from which the above were derived would naturally have belonged to the cycle of Vivien.

In the *Willame A*, there is also found a series of references to former exploits of Vivien. These allusions, contained mostly in the message of Vivien to Guillaume, are undoubtedly among the most primitive traditions not only in the *Willame* but in the entire realm of the French chansons de geste. If redaction A of the *Willame* be dated about 1075, it is clear that the primitive sources which related these previous deeds of Vivien were of a still earlier period, perhaps the first half of the eleventh century. It is noticeable that many of the laisses in the *Willame A*, which contain these references are particularly short. This fact in itself suggests both the primitiveness and the tragic character of the recital. Each laisse deals with some distinct episode in Vivien's career, and is quite possibly a résumé of some ancient epic. Here there is justification in looking for some of the earliest traditions of Vivien.

The first of these allusions occurs in lines 374-380, at the time that Girart appropriates the shield of Tedbald, and is repeated in lines 634-646, in Vivien's charge to Girart. It is stated that Vivien had formerly captured this great double shield from Alderufe (Aerofle), whom he killed, as well as the twelve sons of

⁴ Books, IV, chaps. 27-43, V, Appendix, and VI.

Borel (Burel, Bereal), in a battle in the fields of Gironde (line 375), or of Saragossa (line 635). Vivien gave the shield to his uncle, Guillaume, who gave it in turn to Tedbald. There are repeated allusions to the Hungarians ("hungre"), who, Vivien states, had discomfited Guillaume. Vivien with three hundred men cut through the press and won the battle for his uncle. By Hungarians is probably meant merely barbarians. The reference to the sons of Borel seems to indicate that both Vivien and Alderufe are very ancient characters and that they may both have taken part in the source of the *Fragment de la Haye*, which probably dates from the tenth or eleventh century. If so, it is not unlikely that Vivien appeared in song as early as the first part of the tenth century, or possibly even in the ninth century. It is not entirely clear what historic event, if any, may have been the origin of the legend of Vivien. Where the tradition of a hero is traceable to some occurrence in history, this hero in all probability became the subject of popular song within one hundred years after the event. If then Vivien was a soldier of Charlemagne or Louis, it is not surprising if, as an epic figure, he dates from the ninth century.

The second reference to Vivien's former exploits is made by Vivien to Girart (lines 649-652) and repeated by the latter to Guillaume (lines 987-990). The allusions here are to the city of Limenes, the great seaport of Breher, and to Flori (a famous horse) captured by Vivien. No other references to these localities have been noted. The name Breher is possibly connected with one of the Saracen kings of that name (spelled generally Brehier). The horse which Guillaume captures from Alderufe is named Florescele (line 2150).

The third reference, given by Vivien (lines 654-664) and repeated by Girart (lines 977-985), is to the field of "turlenlerei" or "turleislerei," which probably mean Turlen le rei. The king is mentioned in line 1710 of the *Willame*:

Turlen de dasturges & sis nies Alfais

also, in the form "Torleu," in the *Roland* (lines 3204, 3216, 3354). Another interpretation, namely, Tours-en-Lereit, seems less likely. This battle Vivien won for Guillaume, after king Louis had fled, but he lost there his faithful Raher (or Rahel) for whom he ever mourns. Some older poem probably recounted the deeds of Raher with those of Vivien.

The fourth reference, which is one of the most important and interesting, is given but once. Vivien charges Girart (lines 665-675) to remind Guillaume of the great battle with Tedbald l'Esturman at Orange, in which the Franks were victorious. Vivien came to the battle with his uncle, Bernard de Bruban (Braibant), and with count Bertran, who is one of the best of their lineage. Bertran bore the ensign of the Normans. This conflict was won for Guillaume by Vivien, who killed there Tedbald l'Esturman (Tibaut le guerrier).

This very valuable passage seems to refer to the raising of the siege of Orange. There are several points of similarity with the account of this event in the *Nerbonesi*. In the latter work Tibaut is the principal leader of the besieging army at Orange. Moreover it is because of a wound received from Vivien that Tibaut raises the siege and returns to the Orient. Up to that time the Saracens had decidedly worsted the Christian forces. Thus Vivien is, according to Andrea, the direct cause of the French victory at Orange. The testimony of the *Willame* indicates that in the primitive *Siège d'Orange* Tibaut was killed by Vivien. The fact that in the *Nerbonesi* he is simply wounded is evidently a later modification, in order to keep him alive for subsequent events. The rôle of Vivien in the *Siège d'Orange* was evidently greater than in more recent versions of the siege. The poems relating particularly to Orange, however,—the *Prise* and the *Siège*—belong to the primitive cycle of Guillaume.

The reference to Bertran's carrying the Norman standard may indicate that he himself was originally a Norman.⁵ It is noticeable that Vivien does not state that Bertran is the son of Bernard, whom he just mentioned, but merely one of the relatives. According to the *Willehalm*, Guillaume had not only a nephew but a brother named Bertran. Bertran is one of the primitive characters of the epics.

In harmony with this tradition that Tibaut had been slain at Orange is his entire absence from the action of the *Willame*. His participation in the action of any source subsequent to that of the *Siège d'Orange* is a later modification. He had no part in the primitive song of the Archamp. The Saracen leader there was the natural, historic foe of the Christians—Deramé (Abd-er-Rahmân).

It is gathered from the foregoing that Vivien was the principal hero of the primitive *Chevalerie*, of the primitive chanson of the battle of the Archamp, and probably of several of the early poems alluded to, as already noted, in the *Willame A*, as he was later in the *Enfances Vivien*.

As all of Vivien's life and character are closely connected with his vow, the primitive *Chevalerie* (*Covenant*) was probably one of the earliest poems of this hero and the center of his cycle. It undoubtedly formed the introduction to the song of the Archamp, as the present version of the *Chevalerie* forms the introduction to *Aliscans*. It is probable that the primitive *Chevalerie* included Vivien's vow and the conquest of Catalonia without the accompaniment of Guillaume, as in the present *Chevalerie*, but that it ended before the battle of the Archamp. Moreover the song of the Archamp did not begin in the midst of the battle, as does *Aliscans*, but had a more natural beginning, which perhaps involved Tedbald and Estormi, as does the *Willame A*, or

⁵ Cf. his sending to Normandy for troops, according to *Foucon*.

it may have resembled the latter part of the present *Chevalerie*, for this may once have been the beginning of *Aliscans*.

Inasmuch as the *Willame A*, in which Vivien may well be considered the principal hero, is the most primitive redaction extant of the *Chanson of Aliscans*, it would seem that the original of the latter poem, which is now considered the very center of the cycle of Guillaume, once belonged rather to a cycle of Vivien. Indeed, even in the present redaction of *Aliscans*, Vivien may still be considered the leading figure as far as line 867. The fact that the *Willame A*, is incorporated into a composite chanson which bears as its title the name of Guillaume, seems to indicate that at the time of its fusion with later versions, Guillaume had become the chief hero of the chanson as a whole. This naturally would be so, inasmuch as he plainly has the chief rôle in versions B and C.⁶ Before that time the source which developed into the *Willame A*, may have had some other title. As it was the primitive song of the battle of the Archamp and the death of Vivien, it may have been designated by one of these names.

The point of connection with the cycle of Guillaume was the important rôle played by Guillaume in the battle begun by Vivien. This rôle was probably given more and more weight in the development of the epics. Thus the cycles of Guillaume and of Vivien became more closely allied, and finally the greater figure, Guillaume, proving to be the stronger magnet of the two, drew Vivien completely into his own cycle.

⁶ The opening *laisse* of the *Willame A*, which includes the present title of the chanson and shows a knowledge of B, but not of R, may have been added at the time of the fusion of A and B or still later.

DEVELOPMENT AND CYCLIC RELATIONS

THE CHANSON DE WILLAME

In the *Chanson de Willame* is seen, perhaps better than anywhere else, a great epic in its formative state. In the various versions contained in it, which are easily discernible by a careful observer, successive stages in the composition destined to become later the well known *Chanson d'Aliscans* are seen. A series of changing pictures, they pass before our eyes and give us suggestions both as to what preceded and what is to follow. There is no more valuable object lesson than the *Willame* of the composite character of a large proportion of the Old French epics.

ELEMENT A

As before stated, the principal hero of A is Vivien, but Guillaume is second only to him. Vivien is Guillaume's nephew and probably was so considered from a very early period. If he was originally an independent hero, the ascribing of him to the family of Guillaume was a natural procedure in building up the cycle of Guillaume d'Orange. In the *Willame* A, the earliest traditions of Vivien's parentage are found. He is the son of Boeve and of a sister of Guillaume. In no other collated source does Boeve stand in this relationship. The tradition was for some reason completely lost. As previously stated, the making of Vivien a son of a sister of Guillaume was probably the first step in bringing him into Guillaume's family. The idea that Boeve was his father was apparently the second step. It is obvious that the tradition of A places Boeve outside the blood relatives of Guillaume. He is not at this time a brother of Guillaume and consequently not a son of Aimeri.

The *Willame A*, contains also the earliest tradition as to Vivien's foster mother. The statement that Guiborc had cared for Vivien more than fifteen years (lines 682-684) seems to indicate at least that Vivien was sent to be trained at the court of Guillaume. It suggests also that Vivien's own mother was supposed to be dead. That his father, Boeve, is dead is indicated in line 297. But more than this, it probably indicates the primitive uncertainty as to Vivien's parentage. It was another means of connecting Vivien with Guillaume.

It is a question whether the first part of the *Willame A*, namely, that which concerns Tedbald and Estormi, was once an independent story or poem. These men of Berri play a very prominent, though ridiculous, rôle up to line 430 of the chanson. Their part is a decided contrast to the rest of A, as well as to B and C. Yet Tedbald might be considered the leading character of the beginning of the *Willame*. One is surprised to see Vivien serving under a man of the stamp of Tedbald. Apparently, however, Tedbald's real character as a coward¹ a drunkard² and a debauchee was not at first recognized. He is governor of Berri and a man of reputation.³ In lines 54, 55 he appears as the friend of Guillaume. Probably his connection with Vivien was more clearly expressed in some earlier redaction. But the facts just enumerated might easily account for the presence of Guillaume's nephew, the young knight Vivien, with his seven hundred companions (lines 30, 31) at the court of Berri (line 24).

The tradition was that Tedbald and Estormi were charged with the defence of the Archamp, which seems to have been considered French territory. Deramé is said, in line 40, to have

¹ Lines 252ss, 338ss, 386ss, etc.

² Lines 32; 89-95; 114; 121; 125-128, etc.

³ Cf. the declaration of Vivien to this effect, line 159; lines 50-52, 168-170.

invaded Tedbald's territory, in line 962 to have invaded France. Confirmation of Tedbald's authority in the Archamp is found also in the statement to this effect by Guillaume.⁴ Moreover the message of Deramé's invasion is brought directly to Tedbald (lines 20, 21), as the proper authority to be notified of the circumstances.

The statement is made three times that Deramé has come from Cordes by sea.⁵ Lines 14 and 39* say that he has come "A mund Girunde," which might be made to refer to the river Gironde. The location of Deramé at this time is in lines 19 and 37 identified with the Archamp. And in line 962 he is said to be in France.

There may be in the references to the presence of Deramé in western France memories of the battle of Poitiers in 732. The Saracens at that time ravaged Aquitaine, took Bordeaux by assault,⁶ and penetrated northward as far as the Loire, under the command of Abd-er-Rahmân (Abderame, Desramé), emir of Spain. As is well known, the Saracen army suffered, between Poitiers and Tours, a crushing defeat at the hands of Charles Martel, and Abd-er-Rahmân lost his life in that battle.⁷

At the battle on the Orbieu in 793, however, which was probably fought near Villedaigne⁸ and not far from Narbonne, the Saracen leader was not named Abd-er-Rahmân. He was

* "A munt girunde"

⁴ *Willame* C, ll. 2605, 2606.

⁵ Lines 12-19, 34-45, 960-969.

⁶ Cf. the statement that Guillaume had returned from a great battle at Bordeaux (lines 932-935, 1015-1019) and the possible indications of the presence of Deramé near the Gironde. The use of the latter name is thought, however, to have been a mistake for Gerona in Spain, the legendary city of Ernaut.

⁷ Perhaps from this came the early tradition that Deramé was slain in the Archamp. Cf. *Willame* B, ll. 1961, 1962.

⁸ Villedaigne is a small village on the Orbieu, twelve kilometers from Narbonne.

Hescham I, son and successor of Abd-er-Rahmân I of Cordova. The latter was moreover a personage entirely distinct from the Saracen commander at Poitiers.

Therefore the inference is that the historical original of Deramé in the Tedbald portion of the *Willame A* was rather the Abd-er-Rahmân of Poitiers than the Hescham of the Orbieu.

If the Archamp was near Tortosa, as seems indicated in the Boulogne *Chevalerie*, *Foucon*, and the *Nerbonesi*, there is plainly in the above passages concerning this Saracen invasion a geographic confusion. One of two explanations is possible. Either the story of Tedbald originally told of a battle near the river Gironde, which was not the location of Vivien's battle of the Archamp, or else the copyist in writing "A munt Girunde" makes a mistake for Gerona in Spain, the epic city of Ernaut, in northern Catalonia, then the Spanish Mark of France. The first of these theories involves the conclusion that the Tedbald and Estormi element in the *Willame A*, was originally independent. The second leads to the admission that the Tedbald material formed a corporate part of the primitive song of Vivien in the Archamp. It is barely possible, however, that both the flight of the men of Berri and the affair of the cowards in the *Willame R*, and *Aliscans* have some connection with the serious desertion of Guillaume de Toulouse by friends and allies at the battle on the Orbieu.

The evidence of the *Willame A*, is that Guillaume and Guiborc were, at the time of the first battle of the Archamp, established at Barcelona.⁹

The fact that after his severe battle at Bordeaux he returned (line 933, "repeiré") to Barcelona suggests that this city was at least one of his seats of authority. After a conflict which had deprived him of both men and financial resources, he would

⁹ Cf. ll. 431, 932, 939, etc.

naturally return to his principal stronghold. The distances from Bordeaux to Orange and to Barcelona are practically the same. Why then, if his principal city was Orange, should he not go thither, when in such reduced circumstances? Not until several days after his arrival at Barcelona does he learn of Vivien's need; therefore, in this stage of the legend, he does not go to Barcelona to be ready to aid him (as in the *Nerbonesi*). Moreover the presence of Guiborc at this city suggests that it was at least one of their regular abodes.¹⁰ It is there that Girart, the messenger from Vivien, finds them. From Barcelona, Guillaume went to Vivien's relief, and to that city he returned after the first battle. The tradition that he was at Orange (*Aliscans*) or that he returned thither (*Willame C*) is clearly later. Moreover, in this change there is an important progression in joining the cycles of Guillaume and Vivien. The primitive center of the cycle of Guillaume seems to have been the poems relating to Orange. These were mostly poetic inventions with little, if any, definite historical foundation. Guillaume de Toulouse does not seem to be the original of the Guillaume of the *Prise* and the *Siège*, for he had no particular connection with Orange. It may be said, however, that wherever Guillaume is connected with Barcelona, that he is the epic expression of Guillaume de Toulouse. Is it not significant then that Vivien is first brought into contact with a Guillaume who comes, not from Orange, but from Barcelona? It seems to indicate that in the earliest phases of the introduction of Guillaume into the song of the Archamp, or, in another way of looking at it, the fusion of a poem of the Archamp with another whose origin was the battle of the Orbieu,

¹⁰ Cf., in connection with Guiborc's presence at Barcelona and her pecuniary assistance in raising a fresh army, the passage in *Foucon* (MS. of Boulogne, fol. 211 r^o.) which says of her: "A Bargelune estoit sa tresorie;" also Tibaut's assertion in the same chanson (MS. Brit. Mus., fol. 279 v^o.): "En Barcelone ont mise ma mouillier."

it is rather the historic figure, the Guillaume of Barcelona and the Orbieu, than the legendary Guillaume of Orange who is thus connected with Vivien. Thus, in the oldest traditions, it is first the Vivien of Tortosa who is brought into relation with the Guillaume of Barcelona. Now both of these cities were captured by Louis le Débonnaire. It is known that Guillaume de Toulouse fought under Louis at Barcelona, and it may be inferred that Vivien was once supposed to have fought with the same king at Tortosa. The repeated allusions to Louis as within reach of the Archamp indicate a tradition that at the time of this battle he was in the south.¹¹ In this connection, according to the *Enfances Vivien*, Louis participates in the relief of Vivien at Luiserne. In *Foucon* and the *Nerbonesi* he takes part in raising the siege of Orange and later in the campaigns at Candie and Arrabloi. There are also various other references to his being in the Midi or in Spain. There is perhaps in these traditions a memory of Louis' capture of Barcelona in 802 and Tortosa in 811, after a two years' siege. Louis would then have served as a connecting link between these heroes. Moreover this early connection of Vivien with these two historic characters would tend to suggest an historic origin for Vivien. At any rate, it is in connection with some of the more historic elements of the poems that Vivien and Guillaume are brought into contact with each other. It may be that both the primitive *Chevalerie* and the song of the battle of the Archamp were poetic reflections of the campaigns of Louis in Catalonia. In so far as Guillaume's defeat is concerned, however, there seems to be a memory of the Orbieu in 793.

It is especially noteworthy that the word *Aliscans* does not occur in the *Willame*. Therefore neither the use of this

¹¹ Cf. Vivien's oft repeated prayer that Louis may be sent to aid him, and lines 452, 453; 561-563; 749-751; 824, 825; 796-798; 893-895; 1252-1255.

name in the chansons which refer to the battle of the Archamp nor the conception that the battle was fought at the cemetery of Aliscans, at Arles, is primitive.

The most noticeable thing in regard to the Saracen leaders in the *Willame* is the complete absence of Tibaut from the action of the poem. This is, of course, in harmony with the statement of Vivien that he had previously slain Tibaut at Orange (lines 665-675). This tradition was undoubtedly well known to the author of the *Willame A*, so much so, in fact, that he felt constrained to omit him from the action. Probably the account of the death of Tibaut occurred in the primitive *Siège d'Orange*. As before stated, if the poet of the *Willame A*, knew of the death of Tibaut from the *Siège*, it is obvious that the *Siège* antedated the *Willame A*, and must have been one of the earliest epics of the cycle of Guillaume.

ELEMENT B

As previously stated, element B (lines 1228-1979) is in general a repetition of that part of A from the arrival of Girart at Barcelona to the defeat of Guillaume in the Archamp. Its insertion into the *Willame* results in there being in the entire poem four battles, one fought by Vivien and three by Guillaume. The battle in B ends in victory, that of A in defeat. This change is in line with the tradition that Guillaume fought two battles on the same field, the first of which was lost, the second won. It is apparent, however, that the victory of B is unnatural. It will be remembered that only Guillaume and Gui remained of the Christian army. Guillaume had been thrown to the ground and was in dire peril, surrounded by the victorious enemy, when he was rescued by little Gui. The almost supernatural prowess of this diminutive nephew of Guillaume has been spoken of. These two alone put the enemy to flight and killed Deramé.

Line 1979 states that Guillaume has won the battle, but the victory seems premature, as it is followed immediately by the defeat in C. The latter is probably a later version. Yet it must be admitted that the conclusion of B seems forced. It is a sudden turning of defeat into victory against the logic of events. The rôle of Gui in B is magnified beyond reason. The aim of the author at the end of B was evidently to give the victory to Guillaume, in accordance with the tradition of the second battle; for although B appears to be a second version, it must be admitted that it treats, at least as it exists now, not of Guillaume's first but his second battle in the Archamp. It is in B that he returns from the first conflict, bringing the body of Guichart. It is worthy of notice, however, that in B, the army of Guillaume is annihilated, just as in A, and the course of events takes the same fatal, downward course until the sudden and unnatural victory. In other words the action in B follows the same lines as A until toward the close.

ELEMENT C

With the commencement of C (line 1980) there is still another change in events by which the almost fantastic victory of B is again turned into defeat. Gui is captured and Guillaume forced to flee, as in A. It may be said that B and C together give an elaborated and composite version of Guillaume's first battle of the Archamp and that the ending is similar to that of A.

The battles of the Archamp, as given in the present composite text of the *Chanson de Willame* are as follows:

Element A. 1. Defeat and death of Vivien; 2. Defeat of Guillaume.

Element B. Apparent defeat of Guillaume, followed by an unnatural victory.

Element C. Guillaume's victory changed to defeat.

Element R. Final victory of Guillaume and Renoart.

The existence of the four elements contained in the *Willame*, according to our analysis, does not imply that they were wholly independent of one another. The only ones which probably once existed without reference to the others are A and the primitive R. B shows a knowledge of A, and C shows a knowledge of B. Of course R as it exists in the *Willame* to-day shows a knowledge of C, but it must be remembered that the primitive *Renoart* is lost. The nearest approach to it which is found is perhaps the account of Renoart in the *Nerbonesi*.

THE WILLAME R

The earliest version of the *Renoart* since its fusion with the story of the Archamp is contained in the *Willame* R. Whatever it may once have been, if it was, as supposed, an independent poem, it is already so completely fused with the battle of the Archamp as to seem to need the latter for support. Although Renoart far surpasses all other leaders of the Christian army in feats of arms, it is an important consideration that he is not fighting his own battle nor in his own name, but the battle of Guillaume and at least under his nominal command. Though outdone in physical prowess, Guillaume is throughout the *Willame* R the commander of the army. Renoart is a clownish giant whose savage temper needs to be carefully handled; he must constantly be humored and his faults ignored. Yet, with all this, he is the faithful servant of Guillaume. Only once is he openly defiant, and that when the battle is over. There is found here a somewhat anomalous condition. Guillaume, who becomes, with the death of Vivien, the chief hero of the *Willame* A, B, and C, still holds the reins of authority in R, yet a subordinate so far surpasses him in physical force and execution on the battle-

field as to become the real hero of this part of the poem. It is evident from this that Renoart has been made cyclically subordinate to Guillaume, though the greatness of his rôle has made him the foremost figure in the victory of the Archamp, and the avenger of Vivien.

It is noteworthy that the *Willame* begins and ends with an account of strange characters. Tedbald and Estormi are both amusing and despicable, Renoart is amusing but heroic. The clownish pranks of the latter, alternating with his brilliant feats of arms, very probably caught the fancy of the people and became decidedly popular. Therefore the rôle of Renoart was more and more elaborated and developed in later redactions.

In some ways at least, the account of Renoart in the *Nerbonesi* seems earlier than R of the *Willame*. The former is certainly a redaction apart. Of especial significance is the fact that it is not joined with the battle of the Archamp, and therefore seems to be a redaction anterior to that fusion.

The story of the boyhood of Renoart as told at the close of the *Willame* (lines 3480-3553) may be compared with the similar, though different, account in manuscript 1448 of the *Enfances Vivien*. Both seem to be versions of an *Enfances Renoart*.

FOUCON DE CANDIE

The general course of the action in *Foucon de Candie* offers a marked contrast with that in the *Willame* and in *Aliscans*. There are, however, various connections between them. The real action of *Foucon* begins with the flight of Guillaume, after his defeat in the Archamp, therefore at a point corresponding to the close of A, or rather C (lines 2077ss.), of the *Willame*, and *Aliscans* (lines 1385ss.).

The subsequent account includes events of the siege and relief of Orange, the campaigns at Candie and Arrabloi, and that of Babylon.

As this siege, like that in *Aliscans*, occurs after the first battle in the Archamp, it would seem, at first sight, to be entirely distinct from the long or Seven Year Siege of Orange. Although there are in the *Nerbonesi* two accounts of sieges of Orange, of which the second corresponds to the siege of *Foucon*, it seems probable that in each source the second siege is merely a later development from the earlier or Long Siege, which was probably that of the early chanson *Le Siège d'Orange*. The battles about Orange in the earlier siege, according to the *Nerbonesi*, were far more disastrous to the Christians. Guillaume lost there three brothers—Garin, Aïmer, and Guibelin. Moreover the Christian army was worsted in the encounter. It was only the wounding of Tibaut by Vivien which caused the withdrawal of the Saracens. That this is an early touch is indicated by the reference to the affair by Vivien himself in the *Willame A*. It is evident from what he says, however, that in the primitive *Siège* Tibaut was not merely wounded but killed by Vivien. The second account, that of *Foucon* and the sixth book of the *Nerbonesi*, is a less serious experience for the Christians in so far as the loss of their leaders is concerned. It is true that the tradition remains

that Garin, Aïmer, and Guibelin are dead. Vivien too has passed from the scene. Bertran continues, however, to play a brilliant rôle, and the loss of Vivien is partially compensated for by the activity of the new figure, Foucon. King Louis is present at both sieges, and in each the Saracen leader is Tibaut. The great exaltation of Tibaut which is seen in *Foucon* and the *Nerbonesi* is very largely the work of Herbert le Duc of Dammartin. The chivalrous and noble character of Tibaut would naturally appeal to a man like Herbert; consequently he has enlarged and exalted this Saracenic ruler above what he found him in his sources. No historic original for Tibaut* is known. He plays no part in the most primitive redactions of the *Chanson de Guillaume* and the *Renoart* collated. Deramé, on the other hand, is very plainly derived from the various Saracenic princes named Abd-er-Rahmân, who played conspicuous rôles in the Moorish conquests in Spain, whose center of authority was at Cordova, and whose activity was also seen at Tortosa. Deramé is therefore considered as the natural, historic foe of the French, and Tibaut as largely a poetic creation. It seems probable that Herbert knew some version of the *Siège d'Orange* and that it was there that he found the figure of Tibaut. He probably knew also some redaction of the *Chanson de Guillaume*, and, by giving, at the beginning of *Foucon*, the flight of Guillaume, he makes a connection with that earlier epic. To this he has added a late version of the siege of Orange, more like the primitive version, however, than the meager and unreasonable account in the present redaction of *Aliscans*. It is with the return of Guillaume to Orange from the Archamp that the striking differences begin between the poem of Herbert and the portions of the *Willame* and *Aliscans* which are subsequent to that return.

*The name Tibaut (Theobaldus) is not saracenic. Such expressions as "Tiebaus d'Esclavonie" (in *Foucon*) suggest a slavie origin.

Probably the chief divergence in *Foucon* is the active presence at Orange of Tibaut. In this regard Herbert is evidently following the tradition of the *Siège d'Orange*. Either the *Siège* as he knew it had already been changed to the extent that Tibaut was not killed at Orange, or else Herbert himself makes this change. Herbert is therefore in line with the primitive tradition that Tibaut was the chief epic enemy of Guillaume d'Orange and the Saracen leader at the siege of Orange. He is inconsistent chronologically, however, in using him at what purports to be a second siege (following as it does Guillaume's defeat in the Archamp) when he was slain on the former occasion. Here the *Willame* is absolutely true to the primitive traditions of the *Siège* by wholly omitting Tibaut from the action, and also in not introducing a second siege of Orange. All that is done with when the *Willame* begins, and on this, as on other points, the venerable chanson rings true. *Aliscans* follows in a general way the *Willame* in this matter, but its current has been troubled by later infiltrations. It barely indicates the presence of Tibaut at Orange and presents a confused and unreasonable as well as exceedingly meager account of a second siege.

Another very important difference between *Foucon* and the *Willame* and *Aliscans* is the total absence in the former of Renoart. This omission of Renoart in a poem whose action is more or less parallel with that of *Aliscans* is very striking. It has elsewhere been remarked that the rôles of Renoart and Tibaut are mutually exclusive; also that the more serious part of Renoart's rôle is shared in *Foucon de Candie* by Bertran and Foucon. It is here Bertran who frees the captives and Foucon who receives the heritage of Vivien. Neither of them is, however, so direct and personal an avenger of Vivien as is Renoart, for in *Aliscans* it is at the hand of Renoart that the slayer of Vivien, Haucebier, meets his fate; whereas in *Foucon*, Tibaut, who is there indicated as at least individually responsible for

Vivien's death, not only survives the action of the poem but is finally reconciled with the French. It may be said, however, that Foucon, by repeatedly wounding Tibaut, and once very severely, becomes in some measure Vivien's avenger. It is not meant to indicate, however, that the author of *Foucon* had any idea of giving to his heroes the rôle of Renoart. He wrote independently of the Renoart story.

The question arises: Did Herbert know the story of Renoart and, if so, was it already fused with the song of the Archamp? It is clear that he gives an entirely different account from *Aliscans* or the *Willame*, beginning with the siege of Orange. Was this because he did not know the version of *Aliscans* as it exists to-day, or did he intentionally change the story to suit himself? It is supposed that Herbert wrote *Foucon* about 1195. Our present redaction of *Aliscans* is thought to date from about 1165, and the fusion of the story of Renoart with the *Chanson de Guillaume* from early in the twelfth century. This fusion has already occurred in the *Willame*. Herbert lived not far from Paris. He was probably a man of some education and more or less familiar with the epics of his day; indeed he seems to have been specially interested in the cycle of Guillaume. That the story of Renoart was exceedingly popular is shown by the way it developed to abnormal proportions. It undoubtedly took the fancy of the people and must have been known, in some form, in Herbert's time, wherever the jongleurs traveled throughout France. Herbert was probably, however, a frequenter of courts, a polished and chivalrous man, to whom the rôle of Renoart, even if he knew it, might not appeal. *Foucon de Candie* was evidently written for a courtly audience, not primarily for the common people. That it resembles the *poèmes d'aventure* of Chrétien de Troyes more than the popular epics has been pointed out. The introduction of so uncouth and exaggerated a figure as Renoart would have been in discord with Herbert's graceful and

romantic poem. As Andrea da Barberino, however, evidently found in the fourteenth century a version of the *Renoart* separate from the poem of Vivien's battle in the Archamp, Herbert le Duc, who wrote several hundred years earlier, may well have known of the *Renoart* in its separate state. He would then not be called upon at all to make use of it. Very probably many manuscripts contained the *Renoart* separately, long after it had been fused with the poem of the Archamp in other manuscripts. Therefore Herbert may have known the *Renoart* as a separate poem, or even as fused with the song of Vivien in the Archamp, but as it did not appeal to him, he simply ignored it.

There is nothing in *Foucon* which corresponds with the second battle of Guillaume in the Archamp. After the Saracens have retired from Orange, the next fighting occurs far south, at Candie in Valencia. As *Renoart* is, however, even in the *Willame R*, inseparably interwoven into the account of this second battle, the omission of him would of itself naturally cause the omission of the battle.

What then has Herbert done in composing *Foucon*? He has prefaced his poem with the flight of Guillaume, thus connecting its action with and making it posterior to the defeat of Guillaume in the Archamp. He has then given a second siege of Orange, drawn partly from some version of the *Siège*. He has entirely omitted the victory of the Archamp, together with every vestige of the rôle of *Renoart*, and has jumped at once from Orange to Candie, where follow the extensive campaigns which end with victory for the French and reconciliation with Tibaut. It is this latter part of the chanson, all that which appertains to *Foucon* in particular, which is the original work of Herbert.

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LE STORIE NERBONESI

Such portions only of the *Nerbonesi* as are particularly connected with the present study, and which cover the following subjects will be considered:

1. Vivien's campaign in Galicia and at Monte Argiento.¹²
2. Raising of the siege of Orange.¹³
3. The conquest of Aragon.¹⁴
4. Battle near Tortosa; death of Vivien; defeat of Guillaume.¹⁵
5. Story of Renoart.¹⁶

VIVIEN'S CAMPAIGN IN GALICIA AND AT MONTE ARGIENTO

In this narrative the relations are particularly close between Vivien and his uncle Aïmer. It is Aïmer who, up to this time, has been the most active of the Narbonnais in Spanish conquests. His life is represented as a constant warfare with the Moors. He and Vivien were kindred spirits and their friendship was therefore particularly strong. In some respects Aïmer resembled Vivien much more than did Guillaume. Vivien and Aïmer were superior to Guillaume in their initiative of Spanish conquests. In those sources which are collated in this study Guillaume never invades Spain as a pioneer conqueror on his own initiative. It is true that in the *Willame A*, he is first found at Barcelona, but he has probably gone there under Louis. Wherever he goes

¹² I. iv. 461-499.

¹³ I. iv. 499-518.

¹⁴ First account, II. v. 5-90; Appendix account, II. 91-143.

¹⁵ II. vi. 145-175. Having discussed to some extent the second siege of Orange and the campaign of Candie in connection with *Foucon*, we do not treat Andrea's account of it.

¹⁶ II. viii. 481-531.

in the Spanish peninsula, some one has led the way at least in thought. He would have taken no part in the battles of the Archamp except as he was called to the aid of Vivien. And this is strong evidence that it was around Vivien that the song of the Archamp was first formed. The conquest of Aragon too was conceived by Vivien and carried out in his name. Nor does Guillaume's brilliant leadership in battle diminish the force of the above facts. He is a powerful relative ever ready to bring aid to his family. He is the strong reserve force to be called on in case of need. And a large part of his glory has been attained by this rôle. One is apt to feel that the forces in reserve, those to be employed in dire necessity, are superior to those which begin the action. It was the Old Guard, massed behind the hill, which was the supreme hope of Napoleon at Waterloo; and when, as the army was giving way before the unexpected onset of Blücher, the Old Guard finally advanced, in the twilight, up the slope of Mont St. Jean, "the enemy felt a respect for France." The sympathy and interest of the reader come to be in large measure centered in that glorious immolation of the Guard. And there is much the same halo of glory about Guillaume, as the leader of the last hope of the French in the battle of the Archamp. In spite of this, however, it must be admitted that it was Vivien who began the battle and fought for days without Guillaume's support. It was Vivien who was the cause of that conflict and he was its primitive hero. So too in the conquest of Aragon, though here there is only victory for the Christian arms, and Guillaume is the real military leader, he is generally with the reserve division. It is the nephews, particularly Vivien and Bertran, who open the battles and first enter the captured cities. To be sure, Guillaume takes a brilliant part in all these actions; his rôle has been glorified by making him the chief reserve and bulwark of the French. As before stated, it was in the mind of Vivien, however, that this conquest

of Aragon originated. He and Aïmer are both adventurous, pioneer spirits who lead the way of foreign conquest.

It is also Vivien who conceives the campaign in Galicia. And throughout this portion of the *Nerbonesi* it is Aïmer who takes the rôle usually given to Guillaume. It is Aïmer who supplies Vivien with troops and who twice comes with an army to his relief, when he is besieged at Monte Argiento. The parallelism becomes still more striking when it is remembered that, like Guillaume at the Archamp, Aïmer in his first relief expedition is defeated, in the second he is victorious. It is possible that in this rôle of supporter to Vivien, Aïmer antedates Guillaume, and that the latter, as the greater cyclic figure, has been exalted at Aïmer's expense.¹⁷

There are obvious resemblances between Vivien's campaign in Galicia and that of the *Chevalerie*. By both he is occupied seven years; in both he takes refuge in a strong castle on a hill; in both his men are distressed by famine. So too when besieged at Luiserne (Maldrane), in the *Enfances*, Vivien advises his men to kill the horses for food, as he does in the castle in the *Chevalerie*. The extreme hunger of the French seems more natural after the prolonged sieges at Monte Argiento and Luiserne. Vivien's brother Guichart comes with the relieving army, according to the *Chevalerie*, the *Enfances*, and the accounts in the *Nerbonesi* of the relief of Monte Argiento and the battle near Tortosa. A striking point of similarity between the latter two accounts is that Vivien and Maltribol fight together at the close of the battles. In the battle in Galicia Vivien and Maltribol strike each other from their horses, which are killed, while contending in the river. So too in the battle near Tortosa (Libro Sesto) Vivien rushes down toward the stream and, in his following encounter with Maltribol, both men and both horses

17 Cf. R. Weeks: *Aïmer le Chétif*

are slain. There are therefore unmistakable points of resemblance between the accounts of Vivien's various campaigns. Undoubtedly some of these stories have been partially elaborated from the data in others.

THE RAISING OF THE SIEGE OF ORANGE

It is the Long, or Seven Year, Siege of Orange which is raised by the combined French armies, after the return of Vivien, Aïmer, Guichart, and Bertran from Galicia. A relic of Aïmer's former cyclic glory is found in the fact that he is placed in command of all the relieving forces. Attention has elsewhere been called to a passage in the *Siège de Barbastre* in which Boeve tells how Guillaume was saved from starvation by the timely arrival of provisions brought into Orange by force, as is done by Vivien and Bertran in the *Nerbonesi*. Only in this latter account are three of Guillaume's brothers—Aïmer, Garin, and Guibelin—slain at Orange, but in *Foucon* the tradition exists that only Guillaume, Bernard, and Boeve are living at the time of the second siege of that city.¹⁸

This account in the *Nerbonesi* is probably derived from some version of the *Siège d'Orange*. The fact that the battle results so seriously for the family of Aimeri looks as if the redaction which Andrea copied was early. Another early touch is that Vivien severely wounds Tibaut, which is the real cause that the latter withdraws from the siege. This is in line with the account given by Vivien to Girart in the *Chanson de Willame*. The killing of Tibaut at Orange by Vivien, according to the *Willame* evidently goes back to a still more primitive version of the *Siège*. Andrea is probably true to the original *Siège* in mak-

¹⁸ To be sure, certain manuscripts of *Foucon* mention Ernaut as present early in the action of the poem.

ing Tibaut the principal enemy of Guillaume. As previously stated, no historic original is known for him and he is to be considered largely, though not wholly, a poetic creation, as are also practically all of those portions of the epics which connect Guillaume with Orange. It is of interest that Tibaut has a prominent rôle in the *Roman d'Arles*. If he had an historic origin, the name suggests that it was something other than Saracenic.

THE CONQUEST OF ARAGON

The many divergences between the two accounts of the conquest of Aragon are sufficient to show them to be entirely distinct. The Appendix is in every way simpler and more probable. The question of authorship is interesting. The explicit statement at the close of the first account of the conquest of Aragon that the same was written by "Uberto duca di San Marino" (Herbert le Duc de Dammartin) should probably be accepted. The style and various characteristics of the subject matter suggest that Herbert was the original source and Andrea the Italian adaptor. The authorship of the second account (that of the Appendix), however, is far less easy of solution. No statement is given of its authorship. Evidently it did not emanate from Herbert, who seems regularly to have added his own name to his chansons. The question naturally arises: Did Andrea himself compose the Appendix? This may have been the case. But why should anyone have written this second account? It seems to have been written with a very unusual desire for accuracy and reasonableness. The direct cause of this purpose may have been an increase in the knowledge of geography. This subject received some attention in the time of Andrea, and consequently he may have seen some map of Aragon which showed him that the former account of the conquest was illogical and induced him to elaborate another. The rare accuracy and consist-

ency in details apparent in the Appendix account are remarkable when compared with the glaring contradictions in the chansons de geste. This fact and the evidence of its excellent condition indicate that it has not passed from hand to hand or been changed by oral tradition. The same characteristics suggest also that it is later than the other account of the conquest. It does not seem like a version which has come down through the various redactions of the French chansons. It may be noted, however, that the geographical progression in the Appendix resembles that of the *Chevalerie Vivien*, especially in the direct advance of Vivien southward through Catalonia. It seems likely that some version of the *Chevalerie* was the basis for the account in the Appendix and that the same was enlarged by Andrea. The chief difference between the versions of the *Chevalerie* and the Appendix is the absence of Guillaume from the conquest proper in the *Chevalerie*. He does participate, however, when called to the support of Vivien.

BATTLE NEAR TORTOSA DEATH OF VIVIEN

DEFEAT OF GUILLAUME

This book was written, according to the heading, by Uberto duca di Sanmarino. It is then the third important portion of the *Nerbonesi* which Andrea seems to have derived from Herbert le Duc.

The account herein contained may be considered as Herbert's version, more or less changed by Andrea, of what corresponds to Vivien's last battle and Guillaume's first battle in the Archamp.¹⁹ Moreover, the source of this narration of libro sesto

¹⁹ Cf. also the account in the *Willame A*, in *Aliscans*, in the *Chevalerie Vivien*, and partially in *Foucon de Candie*.

would seem to be Herbert's own continuation of the first account of the conquest of Aragon and to be his introduction to *Foucon de Candie*, which, in the order of the *Nerbonesi*, immediately follows it.

The narration is of very great dramatic interest and is told with an assurance and a seemingly perfect knowledge of the facts which are, for a work of fiction, unusual. All the circumstances are as carefully elaborated as though it were an undoubted and brilliant piece of history. This definiteness and care for detail, so characteristic of Andrea, are especially helpful here, throwing as they do, a valuable side light on the much discussed subject of Vivien's defeat and death and the later defeat of Guillaume upon the same field.

When Vivien heard of the approaching invasion by Tibaut, it is stated that he sent word to Guillaume, who promptly assembled a strong force and marched to Barcelona.

As far as the presence in the action of Tibaut is concerned, this account is plainly later than that in the *Willame*. Also in regard to Guillaume coming to Barcelona, this account is more recent than A, and perhaps B, of the *Willame*. In the *Willame* A, there is no mention of Guillaume coming from Orange to Barcelona; he is already there, as is also Guiborc. It seems to be their regular abode. It was to Barcelona, not to Orange, that Guillaume returned after his costly battle at Bordeaux. After such a battle, and knowing nothing of the plight of Vivien, he would naturally go home. As he went to Barcelona, that would seem to have been in the most primitive sources his seat of authority. Later, when he came to be generally known as Guillaume d'Orange, and Orange was designated as his city, it was thought necessary to explain his presence at Barcelona, and accordingly he is said to have been summoned from Orange by Vivien and to have stopped on the way at Barcelona. Still later, Barcelona was wholly dropped from this connection and Guil-

laume was summoned from Orange and proceeded directly to the Archamp, as in the *Chevalerie Vivien*. Therefore this narration in the *Nerbonesi* occupies the middle ground above indicated.²⁰

The presence of Vivien at Tortosa seems natural in view of the Appendix account of his conquest of Catalonia and the *Chevalerie*. The closing chapter of the first account of this conquest, occurring as it does after the statement by Herbert le Duc that the story of the conquest is ended, is evidently a passage of remplissage serving to connect the conquest with the final battle of Vivien by explaining his presence at Tortosa. However, as Herbert says that he wrote both the first version of the conquest and the story of Vivien's last battle, one would think that he himself would have connected them.

It is worthy of notice that the sources which indicate that Vivien died near Tortosa are the *Chevalerie*, *Foucon*, and the *Nerbonesi*, supported to some extent by the *Willame A*, which indicates the proximity of Barcelona to the battlefield. The *Nerbonesi* do not allude to the Archamp, but the *Chevalerie* (manuscript of Boulogne) connects it with Tortosa. The *Willame* and *Aliscans*, on the other hand, use the word Archamp for the battlefield, but do not employ the name Tortosa in connection with it. The indications of the *Willame* in regard to the location of the Archamp are, however, quite in accord with the tradition that it was near Tortosa. The only sources in which Tortosa and the Archamp are both named in connection with the movements of Vivien at the time of his final battle are the Boulogne *Chevalerie* and *Foucon*. These poems are therefore the connecting links between Tortosa and the Archamp.

The original location of Vivien's last conflict is one of the deep and fundamental questions of the cycles of Vivien and

²⁰ Cf. R. Weeks: *Romania*, XXXIV. 264ss.; *Modern Philology*, II. 15, 16; *Origin of the Covenant Vivien*, pp. 50, 51.

Guillaume. Certainly the oldest name for the battlefield seems to be the Archamp. The evidence of the earliest sources relative to Vivien places the battle in Spain; and not at Arles, according to the former common belief of critics. It has generally been supposed that the historic origin of the battle of Aliscans or the Archamp was the battle between Guillaume de Toulouse and the Saracens (under Hescham) at the Orbieu in 793. In so far as the defeat of Guillaume is concerned, the battle of the Orbieu seems the most likely historic source. However, it was probably Vivien, rather than Guillaume, who was the primitive hero of the Archamp, and Guillaume's participation in that conflict is perhaps a later addition. What certainty is there then that the battle of the Orbieu was the origin of the battle of the Archamp? If it were so, why is there expressed in the earliest sources such a strong tradition that the battle was in Spain? These indications for Spain probably signify that, in so far as the part played by Vivien is concerned, the historic original of his final conflict was not the battle of the Orbieu. There is no certainty that it had any definite historical origin. The pronounced tradition that it took place near Tortosa, however, would suggest that the capture of that city by Louis le Débonnaire, in 811, may have some connection with it. The desire of Vivien, so often repeated during the fight in the Archamp, according to the *Willame A*, that Louis might be sent to his rescue, and the idea of Guiborc that the dead man whom Guillaume brings back from the battlefield is either Vivien or Louis, seem to indicate a primitive relation between these two in connection with Tortosa and the Archamp. Also at the beginning of the *Willame A*, it is stated that Deramé is making war on Louis. Guillaume de Toulouse had at the time of the historic capture of Tortosa retired to the abbey of Gellone. The account of the battle of the Archamp is the natural sequel to the *Chevalerie Vivien* (manuscript of Boulogne). Now this latter poem, and the

two corresponding narratives of the conquest of Aragon, in the *Nerbonesi*, bring Vivien to Tortosa, and this is the last place named whose actual location is known before the beginning of Vivien's final battle. There seems little doubt that this was the tradition of the primitive *Chevalerie*, and as the primitive song of the Archamp was in all probability in line with this, the vicinity of Tortosa may be considered the earliest location of Vivien's final battle.

The historical origin of the numerous references connecting Guillaume of Orange with Barcelona was in all probability the participation of Guillaume de Toulouse in the capture of that city by the troops of Louis about 802. In the oldest poem of the Archamp—the *Willame A*—Guillaume is established at Barcelona when summoned to the aid of Vivien. There appears therefore to be in the earliest versions a marked connection between Vivien's battle near Tortosa, Guillaume's presence at Barcelona, and the campaigns of Louis le Débonnaire in Catalonia.

In so far as Guillaume's defeat in the Archamp is concerned, it may well go back to the nominal defeat of Guillaume de Toulouse on the Orbieu. The fact, however, that in the sources, Guillaume is brought down to Vivien near Tortosa to fight this battle, instead of Vivien being introduced into Guillaume's battle on the Orbieu is significant. It shows clearly enough around whom centered the earliest traditions of this battle of the Archamp—namely: Vivien.

The conclusion therefore is that three principal historic elements have entered into the tradition of the Archamp:—

1. The siege and capture of Tortosa by Louis le Débonnaire in 809-811 (the part of Vivien in the battle of the Archamp).

2. The capture of Barcelona by Louis and Guillaume de Toulouse in 802 (connection of Guillaume d'Orange with Barcelona).

3. The battle of the Orbieu in 793, between the French under Guillaume de Toulouse and the Saracens under Hescham (the defeat of Guillaume).

STORY OF THE RENOART IN THE NERBONESI

The story of the *Renoart* in the *Nerbonesi* is probably the oldest extant and most nearly like the original, separate story or poem. Therefore Andrea's version must be examined for indications of what was the primitive *Renoart*. A résumé of it has already been given. The chief point of difference between the account of Renoart as furnished by Andrea and the corresponding recitals of the *Willame*, and *Aliscans* is that it is not joined with the battle in the Archamp. Therefore it would seem to be a redaction anterior to that fusion, and consequently more primitive than the *Renoart* versions in the other poems.

The tradition that Renoart had been imprisoned by his father for twenty years is found in no other source. Therefore, when Renoart goes to Paris, he is a grown man, instead of a boy, as in the other versions. Moreover he is not bought by Louis nor brought by him to Paris, but goes thither of his own volition. He voluntarily enters the king's service. The lady with whom he falls in love is not the king's daughter, but his sister, although the names appear to be the same. The battle in which Renoart takes part appears to be near Orange and fought to raise the siege of that city. According to Andrea, Renoart and Guiborc are cousins, instead of brother and sister. The episode of the substitution of another child for that of Renoart is not found elsewhere. The account of this, in the *Bataille Loquifer*, however, is that Deramé has the child stolen by Pecolet.* The account of his subsequent monastic life may be compared with the *Moniage Renoart*.

* Cf. "Pincelet," Renoart's tutor, in MS. 1448 of the *Enfances Vivien*.

ALISCANS

As before stated, the *Chanson d'Aliscans* is a later development in France of the poem of which the most primitive extant version is the Anglo-Norman *Chanson de Willame*. Probably nearly one hundred years separate the composition of the *Willame A*, and the present redaction of *Aliscans*.

The most notable change apparent in *Aliscans* is the total omission of the first part of the *Willame A*, including the rôles of Tedbald and Estormi, the journey of Girart to Barcelona, and also the battle of the Archamp previous to the arrival of Guillaume. The beginning of *Aliscans* is truncated. The original commencement of the chanson is gone. The action does not begin until the first battle of the Archamp is approaching its disastrous close.

Of what did the original beginning of *Aliscans* consist? In so far as the rôle of Vivien is concerned, the *Willame A*, is a sufficient answer to this question. The songs of the Archamp evidently developed around Vivien as the central and primitive hero. Therefore that part of the *Willame A*, which treats of Vivien's battle before the arrival of Guillaume is evidently the core of the legend. All else has been built up on that. Now this is precisely what *Aliscans* omits. In the latter poem Vivien fights no independent battle. Guillaume is present from the beginning of the chanson. Therefore it is clear that in *Aliscans* Vivien has been still further absorbed into the cycle of Guillaume and shorn of much of his independence.

It is not so clear that the first part of the *Willame A*, namely, that which involves Tedbald and Estormi, was included in the original beginning of *Aliscans* or the preceding French versions of the *Chanson de Willame*. The *Chanson de Willame* is peculiarly composite. It is therefore possible that the story

of Tedbald and Estormi was once separate and that its fusion with Vivien's battle in the Archamp is an individual peculiarity of this Anglo-Norman manuscript. The very great contrast in tone which distinguishes it from the rest of A seems to bespeak such a separate existence. If this supposition is correct, then the *Willame* might be divided into five, instead of four, distinct divisions. Both the condition of the poetry in this account of the cowards of Berri and also the fact that it is either fused with or an integral part of A of the *Willame*, show conclusively that it is very old. But even if it be supposed that this element was originally separate, why, after it had once been merged with the story of Vivien's battle in the Archamp, should it have been dropped? It is not said, again reconstituted a separate poem, for the story was wholly lost, except as it exists in the *Willame*. The question involves the broader one of the truncated condition of the present version of *Aliscans*. It is not simply the affairs of Tedbald and Estormi which are lacking. The entire account of Vivien's battle before Guillaume's arrival and of the messenger from Vivien to Guillaume is gone. Why did all this fall away? What line of cleavage was there which predisposed the chanson to lose its beginning? These questions are probably involved with those of the existence of a primitive *Chevalerie Vivien*, its complete disappearance, and the composition of a new *Chevalerie* drawn from both *Aliscans* and the *Enfances Vivien*. The answer is that this new *Chevalerie* became so similar to the beginning of *Aliscans* that this beginning ceased to be considered as an integral part of *Aliscans* and was therefore discarded. Even while the parts of *Aliscans* were still connected, the first part may have been thought of as in reality the *Chevalerie* and what was really one poem as two poems united. Few things in literary interpretation could be more apparent than that the present redactions of the *Chevalerie* and *Aliscans* were intentionally made to connect with each other.

Of the other divisions of the *Chanson de Willame*, only that of Renoart remains easily discernible in *Aliscans*. This portion of the chanson in particular has developed very greatly since the version of it which is found in the *Willame* R.²¹ It shows greater vigor of growth, though less intrinsic merit and beauty, than the other portions of the epic. The reason for the increasingly exaggerated rôle given to Renoart was undoubtedly its great popularity with the people.

The extra battle of the *Willame*, found as a victory for Guillaume in B and continued into a defeat in C, is eliminated from *Aliscans*. The beginning (lines 1980ss.) of what has been designated as C in the *Willame* can still be discerned in *Aliscans* (lines 693ss.), but the transition from a preceding version has been obliterated, together with the exaggerated rôle of Gui and the statement that Guillaume had won the battle.

It is at the beginning of C in the *Willame* and the corresponding point (lines 693ss.) of *Aliscans* that Guillaume finds Vivien dying on the field. This incident is much more reasonable in *Aliscans*. Here Vivien has not been killed earlier in the battle, much less in an entirely separate and preceding battle, as in the *Willame*. In *Aliscans* he is represented only to be in a dying condition and praying for Guillaume's arrival. As Guillaume is present in the battle, there is nothing impossible in the statement that he finds Vivien still living. On the other hand, the chain of events in the *Willame*, and especially the duplication of Guillaume's first battle in the Archamp (recounted once in A and again in B and C), have made it impossible that Vivien should be alive at the time his uncle finds him, which is apparently ten days after he was hewn to pieces.

²¹ It contains 5288 lines, as against 907 lines in the corresponding part of the *Willame*, an increase of 4381 lines, or more than contained in the *Willame* entire. The *Renoart* in *Aliscans* is nearly six times as long as the *Renoart* in the *Willame*. The rest of *Aliscans* has increased only 502 lines.

The almost complete absence of Tibaut from the real action of *Aliscans* is a matter of cyclic significance. His absence is probably a late survival of the tradition of the *Willame A*, that he had previously been killed at Orange. He takes no part in either battle of *Aliscans* but is said to be among the Saracenic leaders who lay siege to Orange, after Guillaume has fled to that city. Of the fifteen references to Tibaut in *Aliscans*, the above is the only one in which he takes a definite part in the action. Referring here to the encampment of the enemy before Orange, it is said:

Devant la porte se sont logiez es prez
Tiebauz d'Arrabe et li rois Aenrés. (1775)

In all the other references he is merely mentioned by the poet, or by some person in the chanson, as a Saracenic chieftain, an enemy of Guillaume, et cetera. One passage foretells that he will participate in a later siege of Orange, as follows:

Mais, ains que isse de l'an la terminée,
Aura (Tiebaus) si Orengie atornée, (8323)
Le pais ars et la terre gastée, etc.

It will be seen from this that the only point of real contact of Tibaut with the action of *Aliscans* is in connection with the siege of Orange. It is only a fleeting memory introduced from the traditions of the Long Siege and emanating originally from the *Siège d'Orange*. The more immediate source of the above references, as well as the others, however, was very likely *Foucon de Candie*, in which poem Tibaut is the principal Saracenic commander. Herbert le Duc probably got the character of Tibaut from the chansons, *Le Siège* and *La Prise d'Orange*, and still further glorified him in his own poems, either being ignorant of or knowingly discarding the tradition of the primitive *Siège* that Tibaut lost his life at Orange.

Although there are in *Aliscans* a few allusions to Tibaut in connection with Renoart, it may be again stated that, so far as the real action of this and other chansons is concerned, the rôles of these two heroes are mutually exclusive. Tibaut takes no part in the action of the *Willame R*, nor of the Renoart portion of *Aliscans*; and, on the other hand, Renoart has no rôle in *Foucon* (in which Tibaut is especially prominent) nor in the corresponding portion of the *Nerbonesi*.

Therefore in regard to Tibaut and Renoart, there are three elements in the sources studied. Tibaut belongs properly to the *Prise d'Orange*, the *Siège d'Orange*, and such poems as have been, like *Foucon de Candie*, largely derived from them. It will be noticed that the *Prise* and the *Siège* belong to the primitive cycle of *Guillaume d'Orange*. Therefore Tibaut (apparently largely a poetic creation) rather than the historic Abd-er-Rahmâns, seems to have been the primitive epic foe of Guillaume. This fact tends to emphasize the legendary origin of much of the primitive cycle of Guillaume, and correspondingly to detract from the importance of historic elements. Of similar significance is the identification of Guillaume with Orange, with which city Guillaume de Toulouse had no particular connection. The fact probably is that the legendary Guillaume of Orange has later been fused with the historic Guillaume de Toulouse.

Renoart, on the other hand, had nothing to do with the primitive cycle which concerned Guillaume of Orange and Tibaut. The story or poem of *Renoart* was probably once independent. His role has been grafted on to the cycle of Guillaume, *after* the latter had absorbed that of Vivien.

Finally, the absence of both Tibaut and Renoart from the primitive songs of the Archamp (as in the *Willame A*), is probably in harmony with the primitive *Siège d'Orange*, but more than that it is in line with the supposition that Vivien also was once an independent cyclic hero.

In regard to the location of the battlefield in *Aliscans*, in which the ideas of the cemetery at Arles and the earlier conception of a battlefield in Spain are hopelessly mingled by the remanieurs, it may be said that in the successive stages of the legend of the battles of Aliscans or the Archamp there is perceptible a progressive tendency to withdraw the scene of action into France. The foreign campaigns of Charlemagne and the wide extent of his empire had doubtless rendered Spain a familiar field for the earliest redactions of the epics. But, instead of increasing with years, popular familiarity with Spain would seem to have diminished. The idea that the battle of the Archamp occurred at the ancient cemetery of Aliscans, at Arles, was later impressed on the poems, probably through the popular belief that many heroes of the Archamp and of Roncevaux were buried in that cemetery. This tradition was doubtless spread in northern France by pilgrims. Indeed pilgrims probably exerted a very material influence on the development of the cycle of Guillaume, by bringing to the knowledge of northern trouvères traditions gleaned at Arles, at Gellone, and at Saint Jacques.

■

LES ENFANCES VIVIEN

The *Enfances Vivien* is generally considered a comparatively late chanson of the cycle. The fact that it shows a knowledge of the poem *Aimeri de Narbonne*, whereas the latter shows no knowledge of the *Enfances*, seems to indicate rather conclusively that, in so far at least as the present redactions are concerned, the *Enfances* is the more recent of the two; probably not earlier than the last quarter of the twelfth century. The fact that the *Enfances* presents the latest stage in the traditions as to the parentage of Vivien and exhibits a highly developed state of the lineage of Guillaume in general also shows that the present versions are late.

The chanson is so individual in character as to suggest that, in its main lines at least, it is the work of one man. Of the manuscripts in verse, that of Boulogne presents a version apart. Manuscripts 1448, 1449, 774 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the manuscript of the British Museum, though differing from one another in minor details, nevertheless present the same general version. Among the chief differences between the latter and the version of Boulogne are the following: In the manuscripts other than that of Boulogne, Garin has been captured at Roncevaux; the city to which Vivien is brought from France and which he afterward captures is Luiserne; there is also a battle at the passes of the Pyrenees. In the manuscript of Boulogne, Garin is captured while out hunting (evidently near his home at Anséune); the city captured by Vivien is Maldrane; and the battle at the Pyrenees is omitted. It is obvious that the version according to which Garin was captured at Roncevaux would place the action soon after that of the *Chanson de Roland*. The fact too that the battle at the passes of the Pyrenees is undertaken expressly to avenge the martyrs of Roncevaux shows a strong influence from

the *Chanson de Roland*. The version of Boulogne is in many respects the more reasonable.

There are some striking similarities between Vivien's experiences at Luiserne (or Maldrane), according to the *Enfances*, and those in Galicia, as told in the *Nerbonesi*, but the differences are equally noticeable. Possibly the two accounts come from a common source. If so, this would seem to involve the conclusion that something more ancient than the *Enfances Vivien* lies back of it. What was the French source of Andrea's account of Vivien's campaign in Galicia? This point is not clear. Perhaps it was something which preceded the *Enfances* or at least influenced its composition. Attention has been called also to resemblances between the campaign in Galicia and that of the Archamp, especially that which concerns the castle and the relief of Vivien by two successive expeditions, the first of which meets defeat, the second victory.

Manuscript 1448 of the Bibliothèque Nationale gives (lines 4716-5010), after the real end of the *Enfances*, an account of the boyhood of Renoart, how he came to be sold to Louis and brought to Paris. It ends with his first experiences in the royal kitchen. It may be compared particularly with the similar story given at the close of the *Willame*. These two versions resemble each other more than they do the account of Renoart in the *Nerbonesi*, and they are probably derived from a common source, perhaps the *Enfances Renoart*.

At the end of manuscript 1448 (lines 5011-5204) is added a narration of Guillaume's trip to Anséune, his return to Orange with Vivien, and the knight- ing of Vivien. This is an anticipation of the *Chevalerie*. The preliminaries and the ceremony of knight- ing Vivien are given in greater detail than in the *Chevalerie* itself. Very likely this account in the *Enfances* was once the beginning of some version of the *Chevalerie*.

LA CHEVALERIE VIVIEN

The original *Chevalerie* was probably one of the chansons which once formed the primitive cycle of Vivien. Its action, like that of the present version, doubtless led up to the battle of the Archamp. In the present *Chevalerie* Vivien's conquest of Catalonia and the first part of the conflict in the Archamp are combined. This was probably not the case in the primitive redaction. The account of Vivien's last battle which is found in the present *Chevalerie* was probably once the beginning of *Aliscans*. As *Aliscans* is truncated at the beginning, so the *Chevalerie* is lopped off at the close. It ends abruptly where *Aliscans* begins. The last line of the *Chevalerie*: "La dolor i fu grande" (line 1841), and the opening line of *Aliscans*: "A icel jor ke la dolor fu grans," are clearly connected. So too line 658 of the *Chevalerie* and the second line of *Aliscans* are almost identical. Nothing could be plainer than that these chansons have been made intentionally to connect with each other. After a time the first part of *Aliscans* very likely came to be combined with the *Chevalerie* in some manuscripts. Thus it would exist at the same time in connection with both chansons. Finally it was concluded that it belonged with the *Chevalerie* and it was therefore definitely dropped from *Aliscans*. Moreover, if that part of the present *Chevalerie* which deals with the battle of the Archamp was once the beginning of *Aliscans*, it would seem to follow that it has developed from the corresponding portion of the *Chanson de Guillaume*. If so, there is an important connection between the *Willame* and the latter part of the *Chevalerie*.

The first portion of the present *Chevalerie*, which seems properly to belong to this poem and to have come down from the primitive redaction, is apparently connected with the two accounts of the conquest of Aragon, especially that of the Appendix, in the *Nerbonesi*. The unusual accuracy and consistency of the latter,

however, and its freedom from alterations suggests that it is late; but much of these characteristics may be due to Andrea. The chief difference between the first story of this conquest in the *Nerbonesi* and the Appendix account and the *Chevalerie*, is that the first is an illogical and eccentric campaign throughout both Aragon and Catalonia, whereas the two latter narratives unite in recounting a direct advance southward through Catalonia. Both the *Chevalerie* and the Appendix are really narratives of the conquest of Catalonia, although in the Appendix the fate of Aragon is also sealed by the defeat and death of the king of that country. The principal divergence of the *Chevalerie* from the two corresponding versions of the *Nerbonesi* is the absence of Guillaume in the former during the conquest. The *Chevalerie* states, however, that Vivien gave all the captured cities to Guillaume. As Guillaume de Toulouse took part in the historic capture of Barcelona by Louis about 802, it would be natural to suppose that he would appear in any chanson dealing with the subject. It is doubtful, however, if he was present in the action of the primitive *Chevalerie*, which, as one poem of the early cycle of Vivien, probably represented him as an independent hero. Moreover, it is known that Guillaume de Toulouse was in Gellone at the time of the capture of Tortosa. Therefore it is probable that the present *Chevalerie*²² preserves the primitive tradition on

²² R. Weeks, *Modern Philology*, III. 225, note 2, calls attention to an interesting passage in MS. 1448 of the Bibl. Nat., which shows that a legend existed that Guillaume and Bertran, as well as Vivien, had taken part in this conquest. When Vivien, hard pressed in the battle of the Archamp, proposes to take refuge in a castle, he says:

Se la poiens un poi prendre herberge,
 Bien nos tendrons par force e par poesté
 Tant que secorre nos reventra Guillelme,
 Li cuens Bertram e dans Gautiers de Termes,
 Gaudins li bruns, li pros e li honest(r)es,
 Hunaut de Saintes, qui mainte joste a fete,
 Qui a Orenge ont reforbis lor helmes. (fol. 208 v^o. b.)

this point rather than the *Nerbonesi*. If Vivien's capture of Tortosa has anything to do with the capture of that city, in 811, by Louis, the presence of this king in the action of the *Chevalerie* might be expected, but he is absent from all three accounts above mentioned. It must be admitted that this fact detracts considerably from the supposition that Vivien may have been originally a soldier in Louis' campaigns.

A comparison might be made between Vivien's seven year conquest of Catalonia, in the *Chevalerie*, and his seven year campaign in Galicia, as told by Andrea. Other points of similarity, the castle on the hill, the famine of the troops, et cetera have already been discussed. As Guillaume was not present in this Galician campaign, being then besieged at Orange, this may possibly have some connection with his absence during the seven years campaign of the *Chevalerie*. Although these seven year periods are probably merely conventionalities of the epics, they happen to be not far astray historically in this instance. Louis le Débonnaire captured Barcelona in 802; he laid siege to Tortosa seven years later, and captured it in 811.

The fact that Deramé, and not Tibaut, is, in the *Chevalerie*, the leader of this great expedition against Vivien and Guillaume is in striking contrast with the *Nerbonesi*. In the omission of Tibaut from the real action, the *Willame*, *Aliscans* and the *Chevalerie* are arrayed against *Foucon*, and the *Nerbonesi*. The first three are true, with the exception of a few inconsistent lines in *Aliscans*, to the primitive tradition that Tibaut was killed at the Long Siege of Orange. He may be considered primarily a hero of the Orange series of poems and Deramé of those which deal specially with the Archamp. Tibaut's presence in Vivien's last battle, in book six of the *Nerbonesi*, evidently originates with Herbert le Duc, who claims to have written the French version which Andrea copied.

Contrary to the *Willame A*, Vivien with a few of his men are still fighting, according to the *Chevalerie*, when the army of Guillaume arrives on the field. So too in *Aliscans*, Guillaume and Vivien are both fighting in the battle. This change was probably made in response to the natural feelings of the remanieur. For Vivien to die alone and before he even gets word that help is coming, as in the *Willame A*,²³ is a pitiless solution of his life drama, unmistakably primitive in character and adapted to a stern and brutal age but unsatisfying to those of a later period. The change from the *Willame* to the present *Chevalerie*—the oldest and newest songs of Vivien extant—is in this case a change in the direction of greater humanity and mildness in dénouement. There is a demand of the heart for the arrival of Guillaume before it is too late. Even though the army of Guillaume is doomed to defeat, it is a satisfaction to the reader to feel that Vivien and the little remnant of his men hear the trumpets of the relieving army and see its splendid advance upon the field.

²³ We have seen that the resuscitation of Vivien in C of the *Willame* is a later touch and absolutely impossible after what preceded, but it also is probably a response to the demands of later and milder sentiments.

